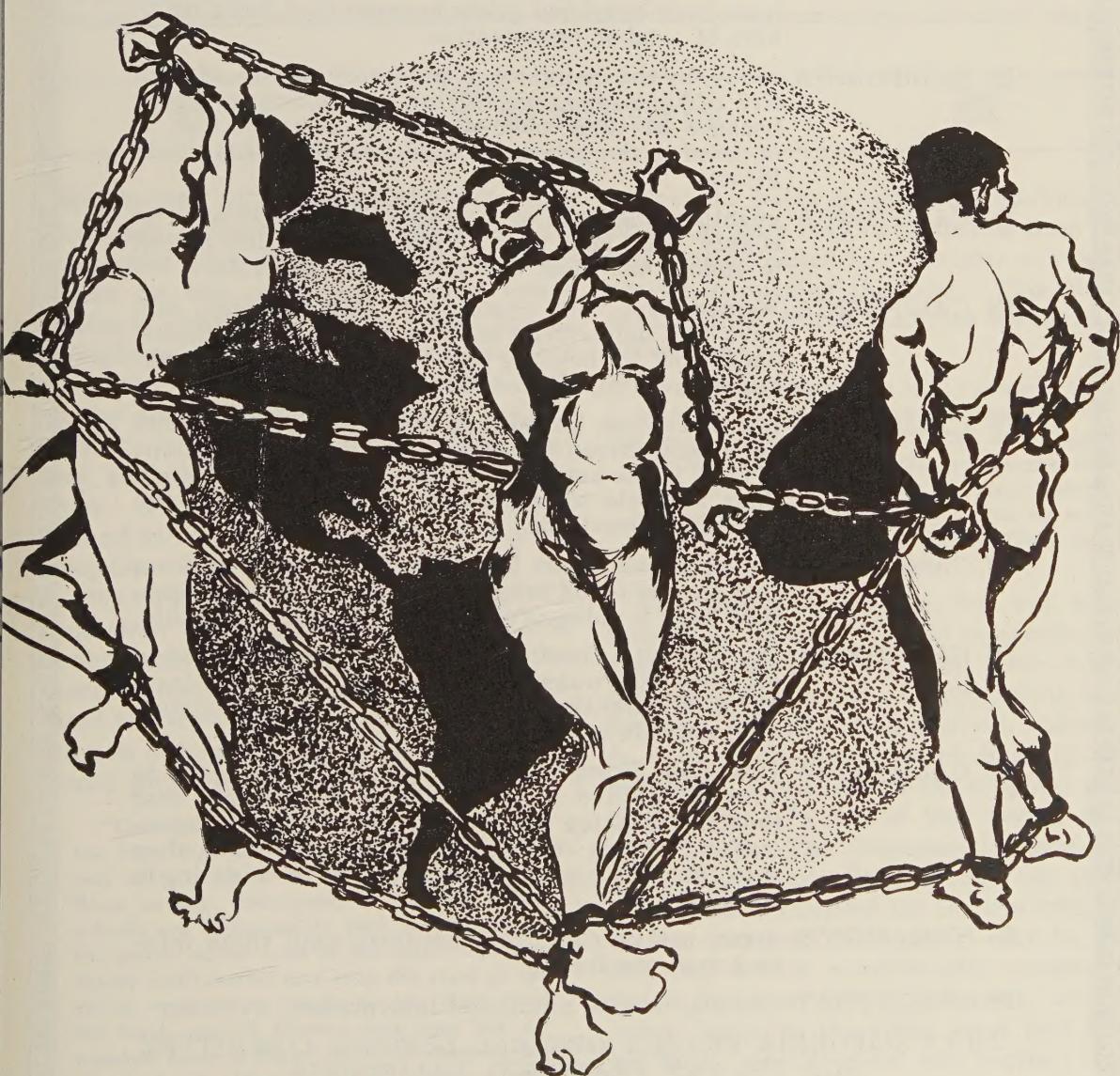


Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine
June, 1925 Price 20 cents



ganize to End War
Hindenburg The Figurehead
A New Society in the Making
Memoirs of a Modern Pirate

CALIFORNIA

WHERE—

“Justice is a harlot
Upon a throne of Gold—
Where Liberty is auctioned
And truth is bought and sold.”

IN CALIFORNIA they have an act known as the Criminal Syndicalism law, under which over one hundred and forty men have been convicted solely because they were members of a labor organization.

IN CALIFORNIA today, by the mandates of predatory wealth, eighty-five of these men are serving long terms in prison because of their membership in a union that is opposed to the greed, lust and misrule of Industrial Pirates.

IN CALIFORNIA countless hundreds of men have been imprisoned in county jails, held long periods of time and forced to endure the most vile conditions thinkable.

IN CALIFORNIA women have been beaten and little children, too, have been deliberately scalded, beaten and trampled under foot by howling mobs that raided the workers' hall during an entertainment.

IN CALIFORNIA men have been tarred and feathered, slugged, murdered and driven insane by the alleged “guardians of law” in the name of “JUSTICE,” simply to satisfy their atavistic whims and to gain favor with the Industrial Overlords.

IN CALIFORNIA an Appellate Court has ruled in a recent decision that anyone found mingling with members of organized labor is guilty of violating this inhuman statute.

IN CALIFORNIA the Supreme Court has been guilty of considering evidence that was not to be found in the trial transcript, in order that they might affirm the conviction of twenty-six innocent men.

IN CALIFORNIA this same Supreme Court assumes the right to change its mind at will, holding in one case that they see “nothing inherently wrong with the organization,” and in another case exactly the same, they rule that the organization is guilty of violating a statute.

IN HUMANITY'S name, use no California products until these innocent men are freed.

IN ORDER THAT you may secure additional information, write to:

THE CALIFORNIA BRANCH GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
BOX 574, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

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Edited by JOHN A. GAHAN

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JUNE, 1925

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Editorials



BRYAN THE MODERN BEAUV AIS—Our champion marathon campaigner of the long-eared party was in Florida recently where he was employed by real estate sharks to "bark" for them. These crooks brought suckers out on a pier where the Nebraska Commoner regaled them with stories about Florida soil, climate and future. He made a big "killing" at this game and severed connections with the side show. Then the garrulous ape looked around for another graft and a chance to keep himself in headlines.

"It's an ill wind that blows no one good." Tennessee passed a law against teaching evolution in the schools of that advancing commonwealth. A man named Scopes violated the statute and he is now on trial at Dayton before "a jury of his peers." The grand jury's presentment was:

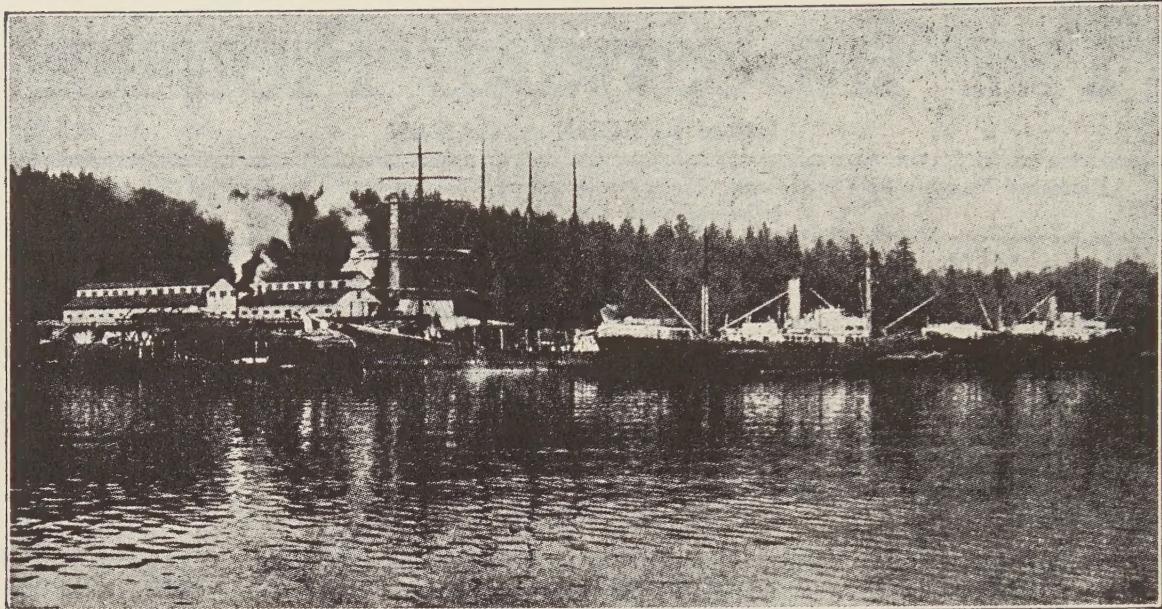
"That John Thomas Scopes, heretofore on the 24th day of April, 1925, did unlawfully and wilfully teach in the public schools of Rhea county, Tennessee, which said public schools are supported in part and wholly by the public school fund of the state, a certain theory and theories that deny the story of the divine creation as taught in the Bible, and did teach instead thereof that man has descended from a lower order of animals, he, the said John Thomas Scopes, being at the time and prior thereto a teacher in the public schools of Rhea county, Tennessee, aforesaid, against the peace and dignity of the state."

That the judge is admirably qualified to sit on the case may be gathered from the fact that he called in a minister to read a prayer in opening the trial. This Methodist Church North medicine man's invocation ran:

"Help us to be humble in thy presence this morning. We acknowledge our ignorance this morning. Give us light. Help us to quit arguing about so many things that are not important, not to question so many things not needful for us to know, but that we may know the Christ by simple faith. Bless this court. Lead us by thy spirit."

The powers of darkness did well when they chose Bryan as special prosecutor because he can certainly keep them in the ignorance they crave. He represents mediævalism, the age of inquisition, autos de fe, rack, rope, block, witch burning and perpetual imprisonment for religious non-conformity. Victims of that system were not atheists. The Tennessee incident furnishes a good parallel. Scopes, like many others, has reconciled his Darwin with the maker who had no maker. But he has meddled, and it is sufficiently criminal to shock Fundamentalist Tennessee, and to bring Bryan to the scene on a trot with his Bible, swindle-sheet and fagots. Genesis must not be gainsaid. It must stand inviolate despite science, reason and the

(Continued on Page Forty-One)



SHIPS OF THE DOLLAR LINE DOCKED IN AN ALASKAN PORT

Memoirs of a Modern Pirate

By CALIFORNIA PUBLICITY MAN

MODERN society fairly teems with tales of the Horatio Alger type, built around the lives of men such as Carnegie, Ford and Edison, all of whom are styled "self-made men." These tales, so adroitly constructed that even the most skeptical will be misled, are whispered into the eager ears of youth. They have been created for but one purpose: to increase the desire to amass riches that is born in the breast of the younger generation.

The ruling class of this age of super-capitalism has caused these stories to be fashioned and carried to the far corners of the civilized world so that they, the rulers, might continue to receive the full benefit of the efforts of all workers. Youth is told how these "self-made" men started on their career, "poor but honest;" how they strived and forged ahead until, today, they lead the world in riches. These millionnaires are held up as examples for youth to follow, even though it is a well known fact that every commercial field is owned and controlled by the trusts. But youth blindly attempts to follow.

Just such a story is to be found in the "Memoirs of Robert Dollar," the three volumes of which he has had printed for private circulation. We shall try to show the true conditions as they actually exist and compare them with Dollar's version.

Perhaps a few words about Captain Dollar might not prove amiss. Dollar was born in Falkirk, Scotland in 1844, of Scotch parents. At the age of thirteen his mother passed away and young Dollar immigrated to Ottawa, Canada, with his father. There he found work in a stave mill and continued at that task until sixteen years of age, when he turned to the woods for a livelihood. Due to his manner of driving the French-Canadian lumber-

jacks he later became foreman for a logging company.

Dollar Goes Into Business

In 1872 he formed a lumber company in partnership with a Mr. Johnson. This venture proved somewhat disastrous because of the dollar madness which ruled, and in the following year the concern went bankrupt. Three years later he again entered into a partnership. This time he furnished no capital; he drove the workers and his partner furnished the funds.

With this second start Dollar began his campaign of exploitation in earnest. He began purchasing standing timber in Eastern Canada at a pittance from farmers who were too poor to hold it for a

better price and were forced to sell for whatever Dollar offered them. The same advantage was taken of the men who worked for him. Because of the severe winters it was practically impossible for a man in a logging camp to quit work once winter had set in, for he would perish in making a lone attempt to reach the outside world. Therefore, men were forced to stay in camp until spring and very often were paid off for an entire winter's work with a red flannel shirt, a plug of tobacco and very little money; while Dollar received in exchange millions of feet of logs and square timber.

In 1882 his business ventures took him to the United States. With the money stolen from the lumberjacks in Canada in unpaid labor he bought up large tracts of timber land from the government at \$1.25 per acre and built a sawmill at a place called Dollarville. The year 1888 found Captain Dollar in California, attempting to get a corner on all the unsold merchantable timber in sections of that state.

Four years later he ventured into the shipping world, becoming the owner of several ships. In 1901 he entered foreign trade and has since enlarged his holdings to such an extent that he has practically cornered a great portion of the shipping business with China and the Far East.

Dollar claims that one of the reasons for his seemingly remarkable advancement in the commercial world is that he is a firm believer in God. According to his words, he is a man with all the ardent zeal of an apostle and one who proves to the world that he is religious beyond reproach by donating to the Y. M. C. A., erecting churches among the "heathen" Chinese, and keeping several Y. M. C. A. secretaries and ministers on his payroll. He preaches the gospel of brotherly love between the Chinese and Americans, but for some unexplained reason fails to mention that the same policy of non-prejudice should exist between all other races. We have yet to hear this good gentleman raise his voice in protest at the race riots which have occurred in this country between the negro and white races.

In eulogizing himself, Dollar also professes to be a super-patriot, a pacifist, and one who would not condone hypocrisy. All of these qualities, together with his Scotch thrift and efficiency, have made him what he is today—so he claims.

Economic Changes

Captain Dollar begins one of his volumes by saying: "These memoirs were intended for my family and some immediate friends, but at the urgent request of others, I have decided to make them public. I have but one reason in so doing, and that is that they may be of benefit to some young men who are starting at the bottom thinking the difficulties confronting them insurmountable when they look up to the top of the ladder."

He holds up his own life as an example, yet fails to explain that sixty years ago there were no such monopolies as the Standard Oil Company, the

West Coast Lumbermen's Association, the California Fruit Growers' Association, and the Ship Owners' Association, controlling all these industries in this country. He does not tell them that American capital has run out of resources in the United States and has been forced to spread to other countries for further fields in which to exploit labor. He does not tell them that such men as he control the United States government and dictate their orders to every public official, from the lowest county constable to the president of the United States. No, he paints a very hopeful picture for the eyes of innocent youth, so that every young man in his ignorance will make a special endeavor to be an efficient wage slave, thinking that some day he may become a second Captain Dollar.

When we compare the early years of Dollar's life with the present day, we find that a drastic change has taken place in the economic situation. At the time of the Captain's first plunge into business we know that there had been but very little development west of the Rocky Mountains. It was about that time that Horace Greeley said, "Go west, young man, go west." It was a time when the west held unlimited opportunities for a young man, for there were thousands of square miles of land upon which white men had not yet set foot. Every industry was open to all comers and the strongest survived. Lands covered with virgin timber could be had for the taking, as could vast grazing areas suitable for cattle raising.

The East, too, was not altogether devoid of opportunity. Many fields were open as at that time the machine had not been developed to its present standard and many of life's commodities were still handmade. Capital had not been organized into the gigantic corporations and trusts of today, but instead, capitalists were fighting and competing with one another. Consequently the young man of that day did have a possible chance to advance in the commercial field.

On the other hand, when we look at the situation today we find that the entire United States is densely populated; every industry is now run by machinery, replacing man power; and capital is combined in a solid unit in each industry. For instance, in the lumber industry we have a trust which owns practically every foot of standing timber in the United States. This trust is dominated over by one Weyerhauser, who has as his aides men such as Humbird in Idaho, Dollar in Canada, and Hammond in California. All of these men have very large holdings of timber, having acquired the same by robbing the government and the small landowners. These few men absolutely control the lumber industry. Yes, even the government timber. When they wish to secure a parcel of timber belonging to the government and the price is higher than they wish to pay, they merely order one of their henchmen in the government office to see that the price is reduced. If that is

not accomplished soon enough, then a forest fire breaks out in the reserve; the timber is condemned and is then sold for a song to the trust; all very simple, and the government admits it. (See Industrial Relations Committee Report).

So it is with shipping and all other industries and commercial products from oil to baking powder: a few own and control all. If a man starts an independent concern and the trust does not want him to conduct the business, they merely stop his credit; or, if he has a little capital and can pay cash for his supplies, the trust conducts a sale of that particular product, underselling the man who is trying to work up a trade, and soon put him out of business.

Capitalist Control of U. S. Shipping Board

Shortly after the United States entered the World War, the Ship Owners' Association took drastic steps to have the government establish a merchant marine owned and operated by the government. Captain Dollar was one of the leading lights in this campaign. Needless to say, it took but little effort. On every hand ships were being built for the government service. After the war, hundreds of massive wooden and steel hulks, termed ships, were lying in the different harbors of the country, some unsafe for use, others safe but no use for them.

Some of these ships were leased to private concerns to be operated for the government and under the control of the United States Shipping Board. Five of them, from which the government was making a substantial profit, were being operated by the Pacific Mail Company on the west coast. Recently orders were given that these ships were to be sold. The Pacific Mail and the Dollar companies were the principal bidders. Dollar got the ships. Dollar's bid was a bit higher, but there was a catch. The Pacific Mail would have made a larger payment down and finished paying for them in a shorter period of time. As the matter now stands, Dollar is to operate the ships and receive all the profit without investing five cents for a period of two years.

At the head of the U. S. Shipping Board is a man by the name of T. V. O'Connor who recommended that the above five capital ships be sold. Incidentally, this man was once president of the International Longshoremen's Union. When he resigned from that position to accept the chairmanship of the Shipping Board, the members of that union gave him a ten thousand dollar car, for which he later thanked them by breaking several of their strikes. O'Connor is a henchman of Robert Dollar, and Dollar can give him credit for the share he had in the sale of the above ships, for he cast the deciding vote that gave them to Dollar.

There is another peculiar incident connected with this same sale. A temporary injunction was granted the Pacific Mail Company on April 3rd by Justice Hintz of the Supreme Court, restraining the Shipping Board from selling the ships to Dol-

lar. On April 20th, Hintz dissolved the injunction, thereby giving Dollar the ships. There is perhaps a reason for this which we will mention a little later.

With the facts summed up, it would seem that Dollar is one whose orders are obeyed, whether the orders are given to a messboy on one of his ships or to the President of the United States.

The International Seamen's Union also protested the action of the government in selling these ships to Dollar. They based their protest on the ground that Dollar was unfair to organized labor. From the following facts we shall see that their objection was well founded.

Robert Dollar and Labor

Fully forty per cent of all the ships operated by the Dollar interests are sailing under the British flag—this in spite of his self-proclaimed patriotism. All of these ships are manned by coolie sailors who are paid at the rate of thirty-five cents a day. Their living conditions are impossible to describe. Just last year one of Dollar's slave ships, the "Harold Dollar," was in Sausalito Bay, adjoining San Francisco, for four months. We will give you a few of the comments made at that time by the San Francisco Daily News and you may judge for yourself:

"Thirty-five yellow men from the Ning Po district in China have been virtually prisoners aboard the "Harold Dollar" for more than a year. Born into peonage, they were coaxed aboard the vessel with the promise of 'plenty money' wages dangled before their eyes; thirty-five cents 'gold' a day was to be given them, and they bound themselves under a two-year contract through Chinese 'headmen' in Shanghai. Formal signing on of the men through the British consulate followed. . . . For four and a half months the ship and her Chinese crew have been festering in the sun of Richardson's bay waiting for a cargo. Crazed because of the enforced inaction, fearful that they never will get back to China but will continue to sail the Pacific water 'until the sun dies,' the men have begun to fight among themselves. They are without money to buy clothes or shoes; their food contract with the company, by which they bargained to buy and cook their own grub out of the thirty-five cents a day wage, has run out and they are being fed by the Dollar people with the possibility that their few cents is being taken from them daily. . . . But she lies in the bay, American-owned, under British registry, with an Oriental crew, awaiting cargo, ready to underbid for business against any vessel manned by white sailors."

On the Dollar ships that are manned by white sailors, we find similar conditions existing. The wages are always below the union scale. Conditions are deplorable; they are even below the coolie standard. Dollar's own words uphold us in this statement. In an address made to the elite that were aboard the **H. F. Alexander** on her maiden

(Continued on page Thirty-Eight)



BIG BUSINESS (to Labor, generously): "My good fellow, you'll be well paid for your patriotic action in 'tending this glorious plant; you shall have all the fruit above the ground—I'll take ONLY the roots!"

Organize to End War

By FRANCIS J. MALLOY

COMPARATIVELY few people defend the institution of warfare, although we have with us at all times those peculiar sadists who, in the name of God and Nature, extol slaughtering of humans and say that the shedding of blood on fields of battle rehabilitates the human stock and weeds out the weak. We may dispose of this monstrously ridiculous contention by asking why the young and healthy part of the population are always taken for wars. If warfare acted like nature, then the old and infirm would be mowed down instead. Killing millions of the best human stock; causing terrible plagues, like tuberculosis, typhus, cholera and syphilis is not exactly beneficial to humanity. Whole populations are enervated by diseases peculiar to periods of armed conflict.

There are always monsters and patromaniacs who gain prominence by the romantic gush surrounding their personalities. Theodore Roosevelt, of unhappy memory, was one who commercialized his reputation as a fighter, but was never in danger, and the nearest he ever came to personal encounter in war was when he sneaked up behind three Spaniards and shot them in the back. He told about it in his "Rough Riders." The people will vote for a character like him, but this is no sign that they like war. They are ready to take glory from their national, *vicarious* exploits in war. When it comes to enlisting they are not there. This is a hopeful sign. As a matter of fact most Americans will agree with Sherman that "War is hell."

How, then, are the people made to respond to the call for wars? Long ago Benjamin Franklin said there had never been a good war nor a bad peace. He was correct, but phrase makers have outshouted this and all other voices of reason. Whenever it suits ruling class wishes, persistence of propagandizing accomplishes the necessary consent. In the main there are three great agencies for moulding opinion and they are the church, platform and the press. When these are ordered to say that the holy church, the holy state or holy civilization must be saved from barbarians, the papers run blazing headlines to that effect; pulpitiere spout and politicians rave. The nation must be defended. Christ's image is ripped from the cross and used to deck a saber hilt. The people go wild. War is declared.

Surplus Value Makes Modern Wars

Workers used to be sent into battle for king and church. Economic masters used the uniformed mob to pull chestnuts out of the fire. Nowadays the masses go to war for kings and democracy. In the last war—I mean the one before the French-Riff struggle, and before the Chinese mix-up, and before the offensives against the Russians by Denekin, Wrangel, Yudenitch and the Japs, just to mention a few—Germany, Austria, Turkey, England, France and the United States were the foremost belligerents. The chief executive of the last named power made a large noise about saving democracy, but when one observes the ambitions of these various states is there any real difference between them?

Germany was the most thoroughgoing of all, and its rise to world prominence in just a few decades caused its rivals to fear it. After all, the ambi-

tions of governments are those of the dominant capitalists of those governments. Capitalism in all those states was strongly imperialistic. This simply means that the big bosses of the states had so well robbed their workers of surplus value that they were looking for foreign fields in which to invest this capital. They were seeking world markets and colonies. Naturally, conflicts arose. There is constant competition for these markets and for these industrially backward but rich territories. Wealth robbed from workers furnishes the sinews of war, for it gives capitalists resources to invest abroad.

The photographs with this article are more impressive than anything I could say, or that anyone could say in damnation of warfare. They were sent from Germany in a book containing hundreds of others, some of which cannot be described. The book is called "War on War," and it is the most powerful anti-militaristic work ever compiled. These pictures show just a few of the effects of war. One picture shows the hanging of civilians, two men and a woman. That was just a small part of the deviltry. In the Austrian army alone there were 18,000 gallows. The French and English shot down their own men whenever an officer deemed it proper to do so. While drunken tsarist generals slept in the arms of whores their ammunitionless troops were being fed to the German artillery. In France—gallant, La Belle France—there was not a pure girl over sixteen throughout the war zone.

Some of War's Fruits

Driven to war because they were too ignorant to fight for themselves, and because the socialist snakes lied to them for over a generation, and preached voting instead of industrial organization, the masses were easy prey. They went out, boys of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, men of thirty, forty, fifty and even sixty. Single men went and those with families. They made good fertilizer where fertilizer was not needed except to prepare a golden harvest for the bourgeoisie. They slashed, tore, bit, smashed, kicked, shot, gassed, tanked and fired their way into each other's guts. Rats came and got so fat on human carrion that they could scarcely waddle.

When it was over millions had been killed, millions more were crippled and still more millions were diseased. But, thank God, the schoolmarm's democracy was saved. Humanity was rescued from the Huns. The kaiser was sent into exile while



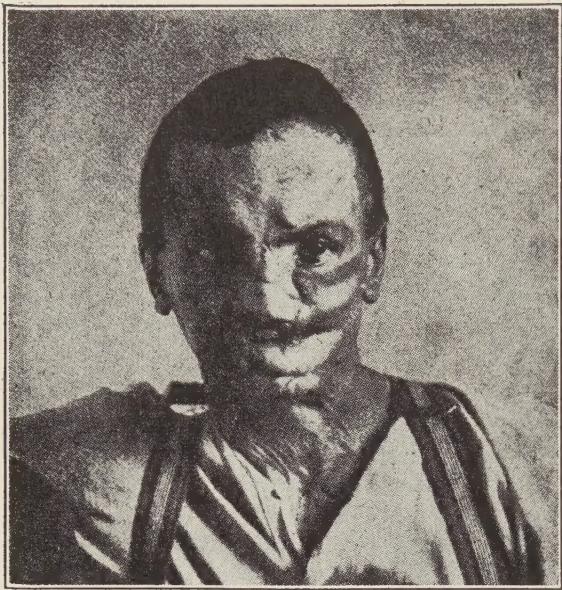
SOLDIERS EXECUTING CIVILIANS—NOTE THE WOMAN IN CENTER

French-German iron and steel corporations harmonized to squeeze the last bit of surplus value from the workers in the Ruhr. In England the "sons of the bulldog breed"—what was left of them after the Marne and Vimy Ridge—tramped in droves looking for jobs that were not to be had and then got a "dole." France passed laws prohibiting the police from arresting French soldier-beggars. *La Patrie* had been saved! While German workers bowed in sweated labor beneath the doubly-hard oppression of defeat, their masters grew richer than ever before. Starvation was in the land, there was no milk for babies and mothers' breasts were dry from malnutrition. Bosses feasted as they never did before.

Then there was America. Our own great country here had been going on a wild orgy of heretic hunting. The executive, legislative and judicial branches—especially the latter—joined to open the season on radicals and unionists. The population had been whipped to frenzy by tales of German atrocities, by banners showing Germans as helmeted gorillas, and all that brand of dirty propaganda. Radicals and union men were pictured as belonging to the same tribe. Union halls were wrecked; speakers and organizers were beaten, imprisoned and lynched; lawyers who came to defend them were tarred and feathered and smashed. The judges, to quote G. Bernard Shaw, "went stark raving mad." They sent hundreds of men and women to penitentiaries for long terms simply because these men

and women continued to carry on the work of labor organization. Free speech was tossed into the gutter and ground into the mire. In short, a general system of patriotic terrorism held sway, and was not stopped until 1919 when a band of union loggers, I. W. W. members, defended their hall and their lives at Centralia in Washington. They went to prison for their manhood, their courage, their intelligent militancy. They are still there to rot away their lives from 25 to 40 years. What a fearful indictment of warfare, and what a shameful one against the workers of this country who could send those men back to their loved ones and friends in one day if they united for that purpose!

Immediately before us is a situation that has not been as ominous since the spring of 1914. American and British business interests are out for spoils with greater rapacity than all others. This government has made appropriations for gunboats to patrol Chinese rivers. China is rich in natural resources and the potential factory and farm labor of 400,000,000 slaves. There are 7,000 American soldiers in Hawaii, but an increase to 20,000 is being agitated, and, after the Hawaiian waters maneuvers by the United States fleet there is no doubt about this being realized. An extensive, vitriolic campaign against the Japanese race is being pushed by a large section of the American press, and the Hawaiian Islands are sure to be fortified so that they shall become the "Pacific



Surgical Triumph! A Soldier's Life Saved!

Gibraltar," to use the language of militarists.

The last great war ended just before more fearfull instruments of destruction than any employed were released. These were being prepared in laboratories and there is no doubt about their being used in the next struggle to save democracy, culture, civilization and other sacred fetishes. I refer to disease germs. It is impossible to estimate the number who died in all countries just from one plague—influenza—during and after the last war, and it is at least very sobering to think of what must be the result when militarists **release** disease germs on the population.

Seventy million men were mobilized in the world carnage. In the next one we may expect to see twice that number under arms. This is sure to give surgery another matchless opportunity to heal men torn by bullets and shell fragments, burned by liquid fire, and eaten by gas. We shall have a large element of surviving heroes with sheep jaws, metallic hands, arms, legs, dog foreheads, pig snouts, and perhaps rabbit eyes. And buoying up this synthetic monster shall live the soul. So all's well, God's still in heaven, and the boss keeps the industries.

More Savagery Shown

Getting back to the boys over there, it is noteworthy that all atrocities were not made in Germany by Germans. In a certain fight large numbers of German prisoners were taken by Canadian soldiers. One of the prisoners, maddened by war horrors, managed to get hold of a gun with which he shot a Canadian. The Canadian commanding officer then ordered that every one of the "Huns" taken that day and for days to come be mutilated by driving a bayonet through the right palm. This was done.

When the American troops were advancing in the

Argonne they took many prisoners. Their officers ordered them to escort these prisoners miles to the rear "and be back in ten minutes," under pain of death. Well, it just couldn't be done, so the Fritzes were bumped off about a hundred yards to the rear, and the men were back in less than ten minutes. It's a fine business, this war game. And the people put up with it only because they do not know what makes wars, and the horrors of war.

Did they but understand war's economic causes a revolution from capitalist misery to proletarian happiness would be achieved, and speedily.

Another Conflict Is Being Prepared

There isn't much more to say, except that another great war is being prepared. Look to the Orient for its theater of action. China is the great undeveloped area that appears appetizing to all the imperialists. The United States and England will join to keep Japan from winning over China. Then the "Anglo-Saxon" states must have a fight to decide on mastery. American workers must kill other workers and get slaughtered in the action. There are many angles that we cannot discuss in this brief article, but other writers have spoken of them in previous issues and I trust that there will be succeeding articles demonstrating the numerous phases of this immense subject.

Anti-Militarists of Church?

Before closing I would say that workers should place no dependence in the pacifistic mouthings of churchmen and other parasites. When the last war came they were similarly opposed to war until several hundred shysters passed the war declaration. Then they got up on Woodrow's band wagon and shouted themselves hoarse about "getting" the kaiser, and killing Teutonic barbarism. It so happens that Wilhelm and his numerous progeny still live and



Soldier's Face Partly Shot Away—Gangrene Has Set In.

flourish in castles, though not, of course, at the end of Unter den Linden. The preachers still live, or have passed away naturally, while over one hundred thousand American soldiers lie on "Fields of Flanders," in mass graves. Their loved ones were given flags with gold stars. Glorious!

Many of the boys who went away as heroes amid music and cheering came back broke and they couldn't find jobs. Industrial crises have no respect for uniforms or heroes. In many cases the American Legion used some of these soldiers to break strikes. Employers have grown richer than ever before; capital has concentrated to a phalanx hitherto undreamed; and there are over twenty thousand new American millionaires. Wars are good for employers.

The workers must organize industrially to take the machinery of production and to operate it for themselves. They cannot trust any other elements in society. In truth, there are no others capable of ushering in a system of human justice, equity and its consequent happiness. When it comes to social problems the most ignorant people in the world are the "educated classes." Bricklayers and truck-drivers organize to get living wages, while school teachers exemplify individualism and get just what they deserve. The working class has progress with its march. Its feet are sounding a steady advance, and it alone can resolve order from the tangled web of social derangement that is all around us and that periodically bursts out in flames of war.

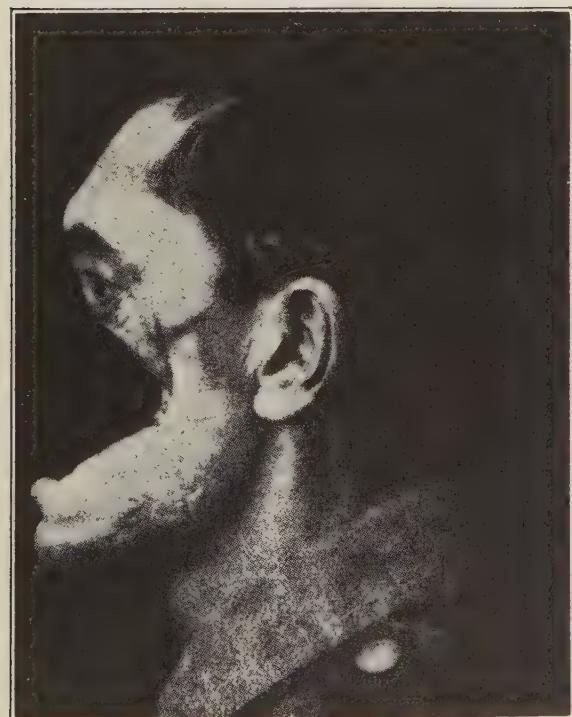
Take the Industries!

Unite on the industrial field to take the world we have made by our class labor! Be class conscious!



From Trench Mutilation To Industry With a Steel Arm

Every worker is your fellow worker; every boss is your worst enemy. We are of many races and tongues, but labor is one, and we know the same sufferings and aspirations. We respond to the same factory whistle whether we are black or white, yellow or brown in color. The boss robs us whether we are Irish, Greek, Bulgarian, Swedish, German, French, English or members of any other nationality. And capitalism is not bounded by nations. It is international, with balances of power ever being arranged by contending governments which do the will of their masters—the banker-industrialists—because we, the workers of the world, have not learned our class position in the rotten scheme; because we are divided and fearful and ignorant. Let us learn the way. Everything rests upon the most submerged social group. Let us get together on the jobs and break a way for the air and the sunlight. Let us rise to break our bonds and with the same great thrust smash into smithereens the seats of the mighty, of all parasites. Then there shall be no wars among men. There shall be a world of leisure and labor shared in by all mankind with "life secure and free." That is the vision we hold and cherish. With solidarity, and a will that refuses to be broken, we shall realize our ambitions. We shall destroy this war-making, hunger-making, misery-making, degrading, enslaving, unsocial, unscientific and inhuman capitalism. It is up to the workers. They must make their own future; they must build it on revolutionary industrial unionism.



Another Survivor of War

Industrial Research

By KRISTEN SVANUM

THE first time any general national labor organization went through an industrial depression without being disintegrated was when the American Federation of Labor passed through the depression culminating in 1893.

Samuel Gompers stated in his report that the reasons the International unions had been able to retain their membership was that the mutual benefit features had made the members unwilling to lose the money already paid in for that purpose, and that it was for that reason the members had struck.

Admitting that it was a superficial reason for staying, he pointed out that it had nevertheless kept the unions in working order and enabled them to take up the real union activities again after the depression was over.

The drawbacks connected with a system of mutual benefits are so well known to the members of the I. W. W. and other workers interested in the labor movement that there is no necessity for dwelling upon them, but the problem suggested here is: Is there any other manner of getting your membership to stick during hard times? And would it necessarily have the same undesirable features as the mutual benefit system?

The Anarchy of Production

The anarchy prevailing in the industrial system under capitalism makes it possible that while there is unemployment in one part of the country and in some industries, there will in other industries be a labor shortage.

This is not only a theoretical possibility, but an actual fact as well. The writer of this article was, during the heavy industrial depression in 1921, working in the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania that were operating continuously, and at full capacity all during the depression, and where there was a labor shortage throughout the depression's duration.

In last year's depression the rubber industry was working full blast on account of the balloon tire that created a demand for more tubes and tires that individually needed more labor for their production.

During an industrial depression, when prices decrease, gold is increasing proportionately in value, and the gold and silver mines are working full blast. Whenever some big construction project is going on in an isolated community there is always a shortage of labor, even in the case when an industrial depression is creating unemployment in other parts of the country.

These instances here are of course picked to show the most extreme and sweeping cases; but besides cases of this kind we all know of instances of one industry decaying in one part of the country, while it is prospering in other parts.

Utilizing the Fluctuations of Industry

The reason that such conditions can exist is that the workers cannot, by the nature of their position, be in possession of detailed knowledge of the industrial fabric.

They must, to a great extent, rely on chance when seeking employment, and no advice is offered them that comes from a reliable source. Here is a job for an Industrial Research Bureau.

If every member of the I. W. W. at any time could get information through the organization of what industry and district would offer him the best

opportunities in his line of work, it would be possible to place our members in such a position that an industrial depression would have only a slight effect on them.

It would be possible to have every Wobbly in as good a position during hard times as a non-member with the same amount of training would have during good times.

In that manner we should be in a position to offer something to our membership that would benefit them individually by improving their economic position, and at the same time benefit the organization by keeping its membership steady in crises of unemployment.

Where the member before would ask himself, "Can I afford to pay dues in these hard times?" he would now be asking, "Can I afford not to pay dues?"

The necessary information for that purpose could easily be gathered through the bulletins of the national and state governments, publications of employers' associations, supplemented and checked up by information gathered from the membership through questionnaires sent out in each special case, besides the information that may be volunteered from members working in the industries. If the material were indexed in an efficient manner it would be a mere matter of routine to answer any question submitted from a member.

The Immigrant

The material gathered in that manner could easily be supplemented so as to be sufficient for giving immigrants the information they may want.

The immigrant, when arriving here, is the product of certain traditions, differing according to his nationality and previous occupation, making him well adapted for certain lines of work, while less adapted to others.

He would greatly benefit if he could get information about where he could best find industrial conditions that he could the easiest adapt himself to. Instead of getting that he becomes the victim of em-

ployment sharks, boarding house keepers, open shop scab herders, and others of similar character. These scoundrels are fleecing the immigrant and playing him against the workers who have already become wise in the ways of the country. In that manner they are making them both losers.

Well systematized information of that kind could be given to the immigrant through a branch office of the Research Bureau. It could easily have all the advertisement it wanted in the labor press of foreign countries, so that all labor unionists that immigrated would know of its existence. Those that were not unionists in the old country would hardly be a fertile field for organization anyway.

In that manner the policy of the employers of attempting to flood the labor market with cheap foreign labor might prove a boomerang and have just the opposite effect of the one aimed at.

Vocational Guidance

The worker who is today looking for advancement is depending on two things: his own individual efforts, and the good will of his employer. This makes quite a great percentage of the most intelligent workers very poor material for unionism, for loyalty to the employers spells disloyalty to one's fellow workers and the union. In that manner the most strategic and the best paid positions in industry are going to workers that are indifferent or hostile towards unionism.

If the employer had a free hand in selecting the men for these positions nothing could be done about it. But he has not. He must choose those who can do that kind of work best, or go under in competition. For that reason it has been possible for radicals and labor unionists to hold important jobs in labor-baiting corporations; not because the corporation loves them, but because it needs them.

The continual changes taking place in industry are reflected in a continual change in personnel and in a change of relative importance of the different groups in the working force. While in a steam railroad the important group is the train crew, they are of relatively small importance on an electric road, where their strategic importance is transferred to other groups.

Whenever a new industry is developed, or changes of a radical nature are made in an old one, the best chances will be had by workers who are specially adapted to the new strategic jobs in these industries. But who can see the changes? A boy learns a trade, and by the time he has learned it a machine wipes that trade out. A man is an expert in some industry today and a back number tomorrow.

Very few are paying, or can pay, attention to the changes taking place in industry. They have no time to study the field as a whole. They have got to cultivate their own specialty. Their isolated position gives them a one sided picture of conditions, until a change does away with perhaps over half of their earning capacity.

It would be a great advantage to workers of that kind if they could get such information from the Research Bureau. In that manner they would be more

dependent on the union for advancement than on the employer, and we should have the strategic jobs in industry occupied—more than is the case today by men loyal to the union, instead of men loyal to the bosses.

The Price Curve and the Labor Movement

When industry is expanding prices go up and labor is in demand. But wages follow prices only slowly. For that reason unions are formed and growing during a period of industrial expansion, and many local strikes take place. Whether won or not the strikes usually result in a wage increase, because the bosses need the men, and because they cannot afford to have production interrupted while the market is good.

The connection between an increase in prices and industrial expansion is so close that by looking at a price curve indicating the change taking place in the purchasing power of money anyone can tell whether industry is expanding or contracting.

When industry is expanding the curve goes upwards. When it is contracting the curve goes downwards.

Looking at the price curve for the United States since 1800 one will see an upward movement until 1815 caused by the Napoleonic wars. During that time the first labor unions were formed. In the thirties an upward movement took place. During that time the first central labor unions were formed. In the sixties another upward movement took place and the first national unions were formed, together with a National Labor Union that united most of them into one general organization. During the following depression the national unions were most of them forced to dissolve, and the National Labor Union degenerated into a political organization. In the 'Eighties during another upward movement the Knights of Labor, as a national organization, and the American Federation of Labor were formed.

Another peculiarity that we notice is that practically all great and hard fought strikes that have taken place happened at a time when the price curve had started on its downward trend.

What we learn therefrom is that in time of industrial expansion, local strikes have a good chance to bring results, but that in time of industrial contraction it takes strikes of much wider scope to accomplish anything.

While the price curve gives a general idea of the industrial trend, we must remember the previously noted fact that there are exceptions. One industry may be expanding while another is contracting, and vice versa.

An industrial Research Bureau could examine facts of that kind and bring them to the attention of the membership. In that manner our policies could be based on fact and not on fancy. We should know how to obtain the best results, both under favorable and unfavorable conditions.

This would necessitate several kinds of investigation. It would necessitate an investigation of

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A New Society in its Making

By P. J. WELINDER

This article was submitted in the Pioneer-Solidarity Literary Contest. It was not chosen by any judge voicing an opinion. It is reprinted here because of the many excellent ideas it expresses and the thoughts it stimulates.

THE Industrial Workers of the World is not a subject that can be dealt with in an article limited to a few thousand words, no more than it would be possible for a writer to tell his readers in such a limited space just what the present form of society really is. The best we can possibly attain by an article of this kind is to give some suggestions as to the numerous subjects that are to be found within the scope of the I. W. W., each one of them well worth a thorough-going discussion, and then trust that those who are capable of dealing with them shall, in due course of time, take them up for such a discussion. It is with such a purpose in view that this article is submitted.

It is now generally agreed upon that our present form of society, 'capitalist society, had its origin in that particular form of production we experience today. It found its birth in the old feudal form of society, but its parents were not, as all too often claimed, the accumulated wealth in feudal society and the almost spontaneous outburst of intellectual forces manifested in science, sculpture and literature and generally known to us under the term "Renaissance,"' On the contrary the renaissance as well as the downfall of feudalism were caused by the growing power of capitalism. The factors that brought about capitalism are industrial in nature and not either economic or spiritual. (Please note that economics in this connection is taken as a science and as such its development conditioned by industrial factors).

We may take for granted that the accumulation of wealth and power, that had taken place during feudalism, by necessity, must culminate in an enormous suppression of the toiling masses—the serfs. We may also presume, quite logically, that those slaves, like human beings of today, engaged themselves in a constant struggle with their oppressors in order to survive. That this struggle, then as today, should develop numerous new ideas in regards to securing the necessities of life is equally certain. One of these ideas was capitalist society as we experience it today, and that idea was the one that proved itself triumphant and the only one that could become triumphant because it was the only one that corresponded to that stage of industrial possibilities.

The foundation of capitalism is wage labor. Capitalism cannot be either conceived of or exist except in connection with the wage system. With the abolishment of wage labor capitalism is abolished, although we might grant that mankind thereby might not be liberated. The liberation of mankind depends not upon what form of society might be destroyed, but upon that form of society which will be established in its place.

When that fugitive rebel-serf, who hitherto had sustained himself by barter of goods that either he produced himself or else picked up on the sea-shores from some wrecked sailing vessel, came

upon the idea of hiring another serf to work for him for wages, producing that particular commodity for which he found the best market, capitalist society was started. By this method it was found that both of the parties involved had established a greater security in life than had heretofore been their lot. No longer did the barterer need to worry about how to get the goods wanted and needed; no longer did the laborer need to be in fear of not having his next meal secured. The one could continuously devote himself to the task of securing a market, the other to the task of producing what the market called for without any fear of not being able to dispose of the product.

This wonderful discovery proved itself to have almost limitless possibilities of development. If a man could be hired at so much per day to produce a certain product, certainly another man could be hired on a similar basis to go out and dispose of the product. The one who hired the parties, the promoter, placing himself in the center, became the capitalist. Both of the parties hired were to render him the product of their labor power, for his service in promoting the deal and keeping it functioning. As a result, at the rate he was able to employ more men, his fortune and thereby his power, rose.

Division of Productive Forces
The method itself proved to be conducive to

further division of the work at hand. New trades arose and a general tendency of specialization on the industrial field took place. The result of this specialization was a greater amount of products from a given quota of labor power. In other words, labor became more productive. It was this increased productivity of labor under the capitalist form of society that determined its success as a new form of society.

Under the capitalist form of production people have been forced to adopt an entirely new mode of social and individual life. Instead of a life of isolation, scattered over vast areas of land, people were forced into close proximity to each other. The mode of production being co-operative, each individual producing only a small part of the product, huge factories had to be established in order to facilitate this new form of production. These factories, in turn, are responsible for the modern cities, our present-day centers of civilization and culture, as well as of vice and degradation. Capitalist society was established.

Little needs to be said to sustain the claim that environment determines our development. Even those who have never studied and have never given any thought to social forces or any kind of scientific discoveries or theories are aware of this fact. We constantly hear people make remarks about their fellow men, such as "he looks like a farmer," or "small-town people," etc., thereby, perhaps unconsciously, indicating that there is a difference both psychologically and physiologically to be found among the rural population as compared to the city dwellers. That there cannot be any other ground for this difference, mental or physical, than the different environment in which they live we also find generally admitted in the fact that whenever a youngster is sent from the country into a large city, his own folks watch closely for some manifestations of the influence of city life in his conduct.

How Ideas and Institutions Are Made

It is, on the basis of the above-mentioned facts, obvious that our mental activity should change corresponding with such enormous changes as those which signify the converting of the whole civilized world from a feudal state, where its inhabitants lived an isolated life, into our modern capitalist state with millions crowded into a city of only a few square miles. Our whole literature, our art, science and culture in general are products of our mode of living, just as much as the manifestations of medieval art and science are a true reflex of their form of society. To put it bluntly: due to our present capitalist mode of production we have capitalist science, capitalist religion, capitalist art; in fact a capitalist civilization.

All that we find today in the form of social activities is only a reflex of our present capitalist society. All the various societies we are blessed with, our churches, our red cross and other crosses, fraternity orders, craft unions, schools and edu-

cational institutions; in fact, all social institutions of today are only so many auxiliaries to the capitalist state. Each and all of them have been brought into being with a purpose of healing some wounds on the body social caused by the present decaying form of society. Our politics and statecraft as well as the whole machinery of state has likewise no other object than to assist in keeping capitalist society in the saddle. Where persuasion fails coercion is brought into play in the form of militarism duly sanctified by the present judicial system which is likewise a part of the system itself.

Can we, on the basis of the above, depict the future society and determine what the I. W. W. really is? It goes without saying that the I. W. W. must be something more than a mere labor union corraling those forces in society who are on the market as sellers of labor power, with a view of trustifying this commodity and thereby gaining a higher price for it. If that be the case, then the I. W. W. itself would be nothing but a capitalistic institution and its significance as a social factor rather negligible.

The tendency towards trustifying factories, plants, mills, mines etc., into solid units embracing a whole industry, and to still further specialize production wherever that is possible or to bring about such specialization in those industries which are yet operating on a more or less individual basis, is so obvious to all who care to notice it that a mere remark as to this fact is sufficient. That this process of solidifying industries, of bringing about still greater specialization and thereby enforcing still more cooperation in the mode of production will continue in the future as far as we can at the present time ascertain with any degree of certainty, is also a point upon which we shall all agree. That such unification and consolidation within the industries much bring about a form of social activities and social life corresponding to such a mode of production, and that this form of society must be industrial and not national in its scope, is beyond doubt. To be instrumental in building up this new industrial form of society is the historic mission of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Backbone of Capitalist Society

Capitalist society today is living on its last resources. What is left to maintain it are those remnants of the industries that are still operated on the old and wasteful method of the individual, non-specialized form of production. The most significant of those remnants within the industries is the agriculture industry. By far the greatest part of that industry is still in its infancy so far as industrialized farming goes. As yet the individual farmer produces the major part of our agricultural products, and on that account he is also the most patriotic of all the citizens. To him there is a "country," a "fatherland," although his land might be, and in most cases is, heavily mortgaged.

It seems almost an irony of fate to find the last shred of the feudal society being the chief and last mainstay for that very society, capitalism, which was the cause of overthrowing feudalism itself. Because a serf is really what the "independent" farmer of today is. Not perhaps in the classic sense of the word, but so much more in reality, he is a serf under the moneyed vassal-dom of the combined financial interests of the world and must, in order to be granted the privilege of being a farmer, first render tribute to them in the form of interest, taxes and profits before he can touch the product of his own toil.

It is interesting to note how fast modern capitalism with its specialized form of production is invading the agriculture industry. At the rate the capitalists find themselves unable to invest their surplus value in manufacturing industries they turn to new fields and apply their method of specialization and large scale production. In the cities the "home" industry is well developed and will soon be completed as an industrial unit. There it took the form of large hotels and apartment houses, operated directly by their owners, as contrary to the "home-building programs" established by the money lenders with the mortgage on the home and its so-called owner a serf to the holder of the mortgage. In addition the various functions of the home were also industrialized and specialized, and the former "home serf"—the housewife—was made a wage earner in the restaurant, the laundry, the kindergarten or some other industry flourishing on account of the wrecking of the home.

Industrialized Farming Tendencies

On the agricultural field the process is similar. Instead of the small farm, operated with such primitive tools and implements as its owner's finances permitted him to use, we get modern machine farming. Modern engineering, chemistry, scientific cultivation of flora and fauna, are combined and constitute modern farming. Against this form of operation the independent farmer is no more able to compete than a housewife is able to compete with a modern steam laundry. Soon we will find the farmer a wage laborer within the very industry in which he was previously the independent producer, and the more prominent ones of his class will be superintending his work. He will be forced to work in cooperation with his fellow farmer, not in some utopian cooperative farming society, but as a wage slave under the whip of hunger held by the moneybags who also control all the other industries. When that last of the industries has been industrialized capitalism has vanished and with it nationalism, and we will behold the **industrial form of society**.

Whether this new form of society shall render any higher degree of liberty to the toilers than capitalism has done depends upon other factors. So far we have been able to trace the development of society upon industrial factors alone. To

ascertain what such a form of society will hold in store for the workers depends upon the working class itself. The best we possibly can say for those evolutionary forces which bring about the changes in our social structure is that they are conducive to action on the part of the workers. How the workers will respond to their urges remains to be seen. The development and the form of society depends entirely upon industrial factors; the equal distribution of the products of labor depends upon the workers' ability to organize themselves and take what they produce. To bring about this form of organization is the task confronting us.

In accomplishing its task of building the new society the working class must rely upon its own resources and its ability to create its own instruments needed in the work. We cannot hope to gain either the instruments now used by the capitalist class and convert them into use for ourselves in creating that culture and social life which will eventually signify the triumph of our ideal, or to use them for such purpose should we ever take them. Capitalist instruments of coercion or persuasion can only be used to retain and maintain capitalism and not industrial communism such as revolutionary workers have in view. We must have new instruments by which to build our new society and we must make and perfect these instruments ourselves.

In "The Image and Likeness—"

Looking back a little into history we will find that capitalism itself also created its own instruments to suit its own purpose. Its statesmen, warriors, authors, artists and scientists were busily and enthusiastically engaged in creating such instruments as were needed firmly to establish the new form of society. Need, and nothing else, is the driving force behind all labor and all art. The needs of the new capitalist state brought about the science and art significant for that form of society, just as previous forms of society had created their own art and science.

So far as the true artist, or true scientist is concerned we will admit that the art or truth sought is the aim in itself and he does not concern himself with the result it may have upon the people. But we must also admit that the power either of imagination or research is limited by the material conditions under which the artist or the scientist live. Thus the ideas evolved by the hellenistic artisan could never expand any further than hellenistic slave society permitted. He strove towards expressing perfection as he conceived it, but his power of conception could not extend beyond the limitations of that time. Hence perfect hellenistic art signifies how far society could develop intellectually during chattel slavery.

Nationalism triumphed in hellenism and tribal society went down in defeat. The stable form of society which nationalism affords was necessary

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Poems



By LAURA TANNE

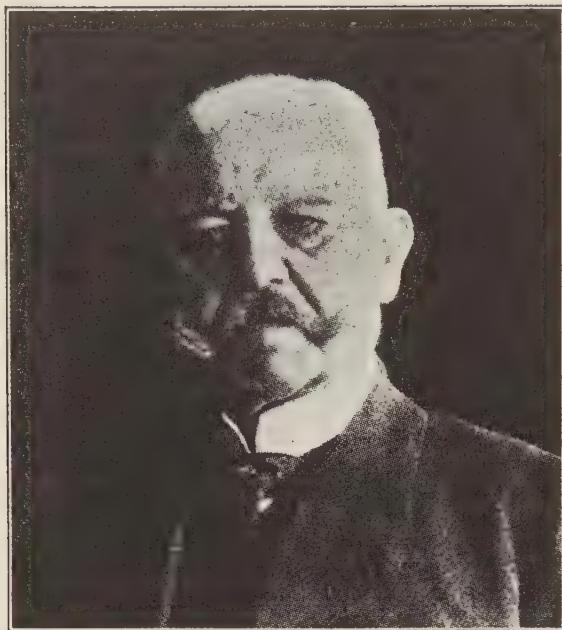
Waitress

I T'S funny—

I can't seem to remember anything
Except 50-cent checks and customers
Who give a smile
On the silver plattie of their belly-full good nature.
I can't seem to remember anything
Except omelettes and torrents of sweat and dish washers—
They keep sprawling all over the place
Greasing my thoughts,
Clogging them with ugliness.
God! I'm tired. . . .
My feet have a spinster's grudge
Against the laughing gold of my young hair.
God! I wish I could remember
Where I once saw a nest of honey-sweet eggs
In a tree where a strong wind blew.

Growth

I USED to think pretty thoughts
All dolled up in crinoline and lace
The color of my little-girl dresses
Matched my pink and lavender thoughts
As they strolled along nice roads
Where the wind was polite
And the sun never said heated things to one. . . .
. . . . But now . . . I am a factory worker
Listening for silence amidst the dark roar
Of a hundred machines
Thrusting black-beast shapes before the sun.
Sometimes my respectable memories
Go into convulsions of horror at my thoughts.
My respectable memories go running
Down the street of the past
To hide in yards of crinoline and lace. . . .
Because my thoughts are smoky and grimy,
They are garbed in red and black;
They speak blasphemy and feel a strange, fine hate.



Paul Von Hindenburg

Hindenburg the Figurehead



By LOUIS BARTHA

(Editor of "Bermunkas," Hungarian I. W. W. Weekly.)

EXCITEMENT runs feverishly high in political circles about the presidential elections in Germany. Loud cries have been raised to the effect that Hindenburg is a chair-warmer for the kaiser; that he has been elected by the treason of the Social Democracy; and that even the "grace of Thaelman" (communist candidate in the German presidential election) can be thanked for the success of the war lord.

Let us see if "Old Hindy" is really the cause of so much fear and excitement.

The German presidential election, like similar elections in all other countries, is a political circus. None of these elections will ever decide the fundamental questions of society. The German electoral contest is nothing but a sham battle; a fight for positions of advantage by parties, which are headed by "great leaders." No matter which party succeeds, the fundamental conditions of society will not, can not, be changed by such success. The change is merely one of personnel, a switching of cliques in rulership. These are surface matters, just like fats in a bucket of dishwater, which are always on top no matter how the water is stirred, nor how many new forms the fat spots assume. The point is that they do not alter the basis of things, nor do they change the form of the bucket.

Just that business is necessary. It is imperative that an alteration be made in the social bucket, or in other words, in the economic structure, without regard to the position or shape of the surface fats. The bucket is not controlled by the elections, but the contrary holds true: elections are controlled by the economic buckets. There is no difference between Germany and the United States in this respect. Industry is developed in the former country nearly as well, and in a qualitative sense even better. What Wall Street is to the United States Wilhelmstrasse and Friedrichstrasse are to Germany. Political power of the feudalist group, the Junkers, landlords, slipped away from their grasp. This Junker caste or class was the dominant power in politics, in the state, only as long as they were economically supreme.

The Real Rulers

But there are more efficient, progressive elements in the economic arena, and a far greater power has grown out of the fields of factory production, which is wielded by German Big Business in the personnel of a financially mighty set of industrialists. Not the Hindenburgs, Stressemans or Loebles are the real bosses, no more than is the moribund aristocracy that has faded into the background of impotency. The German Morgans and Rockefellers—the Stinnes, Thysens and Krupps, incarnating Big Business, are the dictators of Germany. Those who win elections in Germany are taking their orders from German Big Business, just as the mannikins who go to the White House bow obediently to their masters' voice in America. In Germany, as in America, this voice is that of the

capitalist class, the industrial monarchs and emperors.

Since the kaiser fled from his country, from his beloved people, the owners of the industries have become the sole executive power in Germany. Previously the power of the state had been held by two classes in a kind of combination. Junkerdom and Big Business ruled jointly. Junkerdom, the military force, carried out the wishes of the German capitalist class. Therefore, before the world war, Germany had been a combination of two ruling factions, compromising to one another and complementing the needs of each other. Kaiserism remained from the feudal period, and took its strongest impetus from the time of Frederick the Great. It became necessary for it, in a society that had developed a powerful capitalism, to make concessions to the capitalists. Members of the aristocracy became involved in business enterprise. The chief Hohenzollern was himself a stockholder in numerous concerns. For parade purposes they still sported their brazen and shining titles. They still held aloft their feudal traditions. But in secret they were speculating in the stock markets. And this gambling in the fruits of sweat-ed working class labor was not confined by the aristocracy and the royal house to Germany. It was indulged by them in the bourses and stock exchanges of all other countries.

Compromise With Junkers Ends

The kaiser quit Germany and the capitalist class no longer required a compromise with Junkerdom. It rid itself of feudalism's remnants, which, though failing even before 1914, was a hindrance to capitalist development. Kaiserism by its very character owned too many traditions demanding strict observa-tion, and capitalism has no traditions, holds nothing sacred except profits.

Big industrial capitalism is very much in favor of abolishing the useless, nonsensical and expensive kaiserism. The capitalists wanted to be on the political field what they were in the industrial arena. They have conquered. They are absolute dictators over the life and death of the people. They are the exploiters of the millions of workers; bosses of every-thing and everybody in Germany. Where one kaiser was dethroned dozens have been raised in his stead.

This situation differs none from that obtaining in the United States, in which country the coal, iron, oil, steel, lumber, shipping, transportation, foodstuff and money kings hold infinitely more power than any kaiser ever possessed. Capitalists do not care to share power; they must be absolute, to give the final orders that all must obey.

Modern German industrialists are strong not only in their own country, but they have influenced the economic powers of the world. The kaiser could only make the German people pay taxes to him, but the industrial kaisers tax the whole world. It is foolish to believe that the kaiser made the world war, and most thinking people know better. He

acted merely in behalf of the capitalists. This action was for the capture of the world market, or as large a part of it as they could grab, just as it is the object of the capitalist class of any country to strive for this market. And political governments have been so many rubber stamps in the hands of their own capitalist classes. So far as the working class is concerned it is of no consequence who is in control of the governments of such industrially developed countries as the United States, England and Germany. The executive power of the governments is quite limited. Their business is to expedite the mandates of Big Business. "Old Hindy" must serve the German Morgans and the American Morgans also, since the Dawes plan is operative. Should Hindenburg fail in his service to the Morgans and Stinnes he must go into the discard. Retire or bury himself he must, for he will not be tolerated unless he performs his tricks as the ringmaster cracks the whip.

Field Marshal Not Dangerous Monarchist

Hindenburg is not a dangerous monarchist. All this is talk used by opposing business interests in such countries as the United States, England and France. They all fear a revival of German industrial competition. England and France have the African markets that used to be exploited by Germany, and they also have part of Asia's. The United States wrested the German South American markets and some of Asia's. German revival in industry signifies regaining the prizes over which the less efficient powers united in arms to deprive Germany of. Therefore, allied capitalists would lose the advantages secured during the war and thereafter. The poppycock about kaiserism is another bugaboo in which the former kaiser is made a scapegoat once more to suit the propaganda purposes of rival capitalist groups. The German capitalists got rid of the social democratic political leadership. This was not because the socialists did not serve them well, but because they failed to marshal sufficient prestige, and this is based on the power to command obedience. The socialists were lacking in authority.

Then the communist party tore a great gap in the erstwhile united socialist front, causing the socialists to lose much of their influence upon the masses. The large body of people did not have anything but hate for the deceased president, Ebert, for Scheide-mann and Noske. The workers of the Left never forgot, nor will they forget, the murdering of thou-sands of revolutionaries. They remember Rosa Lux-emburg and Karl Liebknecht. Through their agita-tion the social democracy became very much dis-credited in the minds of many workers.

The capitalist class needs authority in govern-ment. It must create respect, no matter how prompted. It must gain implicit obedience to its brands of law and order. This the social democrats were not successful in compelling. What they did accom-plish, however, was to save the capitalist class of Germany in the hour of its trial, its moment of most fearful peril. For this service it lost the re-

spect of the masses. The two-edged sword cut its own throat.

What Hindenburg Represents

Hindenburg's personality combines authority, respect for law and order, and the "fear of God." He is the idol of German youth and the hero that thoughtless millions worship. The Germans, as a whole, are law-abiding people. The war made little difference in this respect. But the German workers in large numbers had so much disrespect for the Scheidemann and Noske type of socialist that their disrespect leaped over personalities and included the offices they held and the party they represented. Hindenburg's election proves that they wanted a different kind of ruler, one that is less hypocritical and that personifies authority. They did not want the kaiser brought back from Holland. However, the industrialists will not hesitate, if it suits their purposes, to welcome him back, should the Hindenburg brand of ruling fail to enlist the support they require. This is based on abject obeisance as an attitude of the German people before the altars of German industrialism.

The conditions of the wage slaves in Germany are very sad. Political parties, Right and Left included, gambled away the harvest of revolution, and all that was grasped in the bitter battle of the revolution has been lost on the green baize of parliamentarism. The working class has been defeated in these political circuses.

If the German people would save themselves from utter slavery, and strangle in the bud the monarchial coups d'etat they must again resort to the weapon that they used against the Kapp monarchists to such excellent effect. This weapon of the working class was, and must ever be, its economic action—the general strike!

Germany has had all varieties of political move-

ments from Noske of the extreme Right to Max Holtz at the extreme Left. Noske served as hangman for the bourgeoisie who owned him, while Holtz demanded money at the point of a gun in the name of the revolution. The Noskes and Holtzes had their day. They tried their weapons. Both failed, absolutely.

The workers must go back to their real power, their effective instrument, the general strike. This is the only power that counts. It is the only one that is fundamental. It is the power to change the forms of the bucket. If that be changed—the bucket—the economic structure of society changes and the rest is clear sailing.

Industrial Control

In order to effect industrial changes workers must have industrial organizations. Industrial control must grow out of the successes of these industrial organizations. For power lies in the control of things, as with the elements. It is nothing to have plenty of water, steam and electricity. These are useless in themselves. They may be dangerous, destructive of human life, if running wild, unchecked. But these forces serve humanity when men and women harness them to do their will. This is control, and in the control of modern society, based as it is on the industrial system, those who would command must possess and direct the industries.

Read the I. W. W. preamble and you will get the real answer to the social questions and seeming enigmas that are in the maze of life. Abolish the wages system, is what the preamble says the workers must do to establish their own destiny in freedom. All else is superficial: politics, religion, and the other circuses. Abolition of capitalism means our emancipation from wage slavery and we must do the job ourselves as an industrially united working class.



The Paver

By MARY CRITTENDEN PERCY

A mighty Juggernaut!

Epitome of mind and will

And one far-reaching arm

With power to spill

The elements, with which its yawning maw

They constant fill.

A crunching awesome sound

With gnashing force that's quickly sped

The rocks digested grist

Outpour to spread

With masticated mash,

The road's foundation bed.

Rolls on the mighty Juggernaut!

Then flows on all a black and steaming mess,

On this the Juggernaut

Its power will press!

And lo! another day

The Juggernaut has rolled away!

For all, the highroad gives access,

x x x x

Now, passerby on foot or wheel,

Finds roadway smooth and hard as steel.

Written in deference to the criticism . . . that the poet ignores the marvelous devices, which are primarily works of imagination, and are so large a part of the mechanistic world

in which we live. I have watched this great machine for several weeks, do the work of ten men, with incredible ease and a grace of its own!

Sailor Boy



By MARY HOPE

HIS eyes were stained with the glint of sea winds; his face shone with the strength fostered by kinship with masts touching high skies and waves struggling toward warm sunsets. Striding across the neat grass of the City Park this sailor boy seemed all the part he played in navy posters: a laughing boy astride the back of a yellow tiger or lighting the fire of a Spanish senorita with his smiles, or touching buoyant shoulders with picturesques Hindu, Arabians, Siamese. . . .

But when he spoke, a raucous, grating accent to his voice focused my awakening observance upon ears, red and obvious; eyes, shadowed and unhealthy, a mouth with youthful hinges broken and drooping in the wind of vulgar scorn—a harbor of blatant voicings.

"Hello, kid, how's things goin' tonight?"

Under the glimmering roof of the city, were dark, dark ponds of people restless under the stars, and bright with lily-faces. We slipped into the crowds and moved toward narrow streets, where corner lamps, unsteady as broken masts, sent hysterical flashes of light upon the houses, gray and age-eaten. Houses, lamely-bent as old women, huddled together, gaunt, vengeful, the secrets of the centuries locked within. The sound of night birds in the air . . .

The tripping of light taps signalled us to glimpse corn silk limbs going up stone steps and into a dark hallway. Quickly she went but not before she had flashed scarlet lips and rude black eyes at both of us.

"Some cherie," whistled Sailor Boy.

Beyond the dark hallway a further light gleamed and out of it came two of Cherie's ten thousand sisters of a trade. Their coats were wrapped tightly about slimness and their shoes seemed pitifully frail. But even in the distance, jewels and feathers consorted loudly with their fetid jabbering and unquiet laughter.

We reached the next corner where four street lamps exchanged glances intimately and cast their yellow glow upon a huddled form, a blindman lifting vari-colored pencils hopefully and giving the chilling darkness a whiff of plaintive reality. Perpetual cats in starved gray skins ran swiftly to the refuge of black alleys, the escape of bounteous ash cans; and in the silence sounded the pitter-patter of someone running in the distance. In the dusk of the shadow-spun street, little strange birds floated on the wings of imagery into my thoughts, and petals of dark flowers from sleep-poet-hearts were blown by winds of fantasy out of the pallor of the past to scatter in the moment's rosy conjurance.

"Where are the golden roofs?
Where are those who dared to build?"

Only silence answered the query of the beauty-loving, and

"The owlet's solitary cry,
The night-hawk flitting darkly by,
And oft the hateful carrion bird,
Heavily flapping his clogged wing,
Which reeked of that day's banqueting
Was all she saw, was all she heard."

But Sailor Boy was seized with visions of the flesh.

"Say, where d'ye think you're goin', walkin' around spoutin' dat poetry-stuff like you was sick? I gotta hit a joint pretty fast and dey ain't got no eatin' dumps around here. Ain't you hungry? . . . No? . . . I lived at home onct. . . My old man worked in a shop makin' wheels for baby carts. Cripes, all dey made in dat town was hair for rockin' hosses and red and yellow wagons for kids and all dat. My old man goes on strike just before Christmas and I couldn't take his place when I got the chanct. Jesus, in a week dat town was mobbed with guys lookin' for jobs. The old man didn't have a chanct. I didn't either. What'ye gonna do in a case like dat? So I joined the Navy."

The Elevated crushed his voice as we passed through less mysterious thoroughfares leading to a hill upon which the container of my garret-abode stood prim and solidly.

Sailor Boy continued, "The Navy's alright onct you get used to it. But I'm gonna put up a kick soon. I ain't gonna sleep with a guy caught so bad with siff you get sick lookin' at him, me washin' in the same water with him, and almost kissin' . . ."

From the edge of the sidewalk I saw my garret-window slant stained eyes invitingly, urging the severing of the evening's companionship. But my splashing a few cool words and questions upon his crude insistence was unavailing . . .

"Say, you ain't no Jesus-singer and you ain't no—.

"What da hell are you, anyway?"

I tried to tell him. But in the dark sky of Sailor Boy's mind, no sun or moon shone bright, only gray clouds, old and heavy with impotency . . . But did I see somewhere a lonely star flickering bravely?

For as I unlocked my door, Sailor Boy called after me, "Maybe if I was a workingman I'd understand your lingo . . ."



The Denver Post

By J. A. VAN DILMAN

What is said here about the Denver rag can be said, substantially, of hundreds of daily liars throughout America. The capitalist press is noisome. In other words it stinks. Support the I. W. W. press and read the truth!

A DD to the World's Seven Wonders that paragon of ocherous perfection, the Denver Post, which proudly boasting a paid circulation commensurate with its greatness, points likewise to an invitation blatantly written across half its front windows reading as follows: Justice, expelled from other habitations, make this thy dwelling place.

Evidently the lady in question, although blind as a bat, has keen nostrils and is sensitive to pungent odors, since, to the best of our knowledge, she has consistently made herself conspicuous at the Post by her absence.

It is to giggle! Of a surety Jake, the circulator would extend her warm welcome even to a "Flop" in the mailing room did she but consent to hustle sheets on some downtown corner, he being partial to people handicapped as to other occupations for reasons we shall touch upon later.

The Post functioning along smooth paths of professional pay-triotism vaunts, with splendid abandon, its position as "Champeen of the Peepul" and standing defiant blares loudly its faith in the citizens of Colorado, more especially those who reside in Denver's environs.

Likely it subscribes to such slop as is shamelessly fed the public by a Chamber of Commerce gone propagandically crazy (like the proverbial fox!) to the effect that it should think no evil, hear no evil, etc., of Denver or the state of Colorawdough. Just what assumptions such bughouse slogans are based on lies beyond the pale of our knowledge, unless because of the wonderful climate and scenery we have begun to sprout wings, and are as free from warts, carbuncles and consciences as we are of real money, though all the rest of America, even to its hundred percenters, may be riddled with imperfections.

The Post, great and bilious, syndicating all the prostituted intellect obtainable, is widely read by deep students of the want ads and "Bringing up Father," while other elevating characters such as "Abie the Agent" and Dr. Frank Crane do their share towards educating its readers.

Barnum was right, and whether he said it or not, he should have, while to the Greatest Newspaper of the U. S. A. (they admit it themselves) ought to be delegated the task of broadcasting: Give 'em what they ask for; it puts 'em to sleep!

The foregoing could easily lead to the hasty conclusion that the Denver Post devotes no space to world progress but careful analysis must dispel such illusions. To prove our contention we have only to point with pride to that expert mental gymnast,

Arthur Brisbane, who in one breath blasts a system based on inhuman exploitation and in the next boosts "Calvin the Scissorbill" and "savior of Wall Street and Gary, Indiana," for a footstool on high—without losing his balance. It is with pleasure we note his large and intelligent following, which unable to distinguish between apple sauce and bitter philosophy, chooses the former as more easy to swallow. Oh! for the brush of a master, that we might depict in a few bold strokes ten million jackasses in happy procession following their prophet through intricate mazes, mouths agape and ears gaily flapping, until, floundering helplessly, they stand mired in dumb admiration.

Arthur, no doubt, derives a few solid chuckles and much filthy lucre from playing with what passes for gray matter in the heads of his admirers.

While on the subject we must give credit also to Post Punches' which strike us at times as worthy the effort of Bernard Shaw (with his brains removed). They have a habit of reaching out suddenly to sock our intellect square in the vision, blackening its outlook and causing sweet conscience to burst into flame. The brilliance of their logic amazes, while for sheer sarcasm no word could describe them.

Take, for example, the following culled from an edition we found in a refuse can.

Denver police have been rounding up the gentry of leisure and vague pursuits, in an attempt to rid the city of bandits. Their clean-up of the rooming houses was a commendable piece of business, and if they will now contrive to get rid of them, either by sending them to jail or hustling them out of town, the crime curve will doubtless slump. The police and everyone else knows quite well that, in general, the man who is idle these days is needlessly so. If he is honest and wants to work he can find work. If he is loafing around a rooming house or pool room, the chances are very strong that he is waiting for the devil to find some mischief for his idle hands to do.

Oh, Justice! Make this thy dwelling place! Personally we should choose a clean box car in preference, or even the "can." Gentle spirits of capitalist philanthropy who, by applying salve to the cracks

and haywire to broken parts, mend and smooth over with glib-tongued hypocrisy a system of cold greed and aggression unparalleled in the history of man.

Out of a heart full stored with blue vitriol and blazes, words leap to our lips which, while impotent to express our contempt, might lead to the belief that it was our intention to designate the writer of Post Punches as an abysmal ignoramus, or perhaps something more shameful, when we but wish to indicate that a facile pen guided by a mind more or less capable is at times dangerous to useful society. This is really a delicate subject and one which like a hissing copperhead should be taken care of with a long handled club.

It comes as a shock, nevertheless, that such an eminent journalist should try to insult the semi-intelligence of a well insulated public, by maintaining that men are needlessly idle these days.

No doubt this so-called editorial writer (we almost said lickspittle) might be accused of having more plain guts than mentality when out of a benevolent soul he so gracefully recommends jail for men out of work.

By all means put the criminals to work. We feel certain the writer of Punch and Judy will cordially endorse our suggestion that the first to be chosen be parasitical "limousine lizards" and their upholstered, overstuffed consorts" in the art of living on the workers backs. A man of his fine perceptions could not be in accord surely, with the irony of a system built on injustice—whose only remedy for injury is to inflict further wrong or to heap abuse on its victims, who, made passive law-breakers by virtue of a lop-sided reasoning, are put in jail for having been robbed at the point of production. He must know, of course, that capitalism, based on legalized theft and hocus-pocus is responsible for the filthy mess which clinging to its skirts offends even its own berkshire tastes. Naturally the most obvious way to clean up such unavoidable by-products of a system of waste is to stuff it out of sight since it cannot be efficiently destroyed except on occasion. This desire to avoid its own offal makes easily possible such statutes as the vagrancy law—that typical illustration of master class logic—by which hunger is made the violation of a pretext at safeguarding society.

We sometimes wonder just what kind of a jolt it would take to rouse the average worker who smiles vacuously on, in the face of assertions flung in his teeth that might be expected to make a jack-rabbit howl with rage, but which he swallows at a gulp, willing to be hypnotized into believing that his belly is full of "lobster a la Newburgh" when it humbly craves "pig snouts and cabbage" at fifteen cents a throw.

Reverting again to this Shakespeare of journalism or is it (liver and) Bacon, who, making a noise like the Spanish inquisition, mentions the man out of work in such terms of good will.

Admitting that neither pool rooms nor lodging houses make attractive lounging places, what in the name of Jesus of Nazareth can a man do besides

loaf when a job is denied him, or where can he do it outside of such places, unless the burglars of surplus labor should throw aside the doors of their own nicely appointed hangouts and bootlegging joints, such as clubs we might mention? Perhaps "Post Punch and Shears" has something practical to offer. A nice dirty alley for instance; since streets are crowded with traffic; or perhaps the drawing-rooms of Denver's elite, with the Brown Palace and Shirley Savoy thrown in for good measure.

Oh! The nawsty beggah! The veh-ry ideah! Bring in the salts—no—not the Epsom—we have THAT already. Frankly one of the signs of tottering empire is the fact that a man can draw pay for scribbling opinions beneath the contempt of an honest cur dog.

Take, for instance, the assertion brazenly made that men are idle from choice when two-legged humans are working in Denver for their meals. Thousands thrown out of employment by closing of seasonal occupations, head for the only city of size in this vast territory to become a drug on the market. Still, what would the expounder of "Punch and Tomatoes" or his ilk advise them to do? Hibernate like a bear or crawl into some badger hole conveniently placed on a windy prairie there to starve patiently and in discomfort while waiting for work? We have been granted the much touted privilege of "existing" in this fair city for quite a while, but never have been accorded the sight of employers of labor tearing their hair for lack of wage slaves. Just at present we might say without stretching truth that the market is flooded to unfathomable depths.

Most workers in the hotel and restaurant industry, exclusive of cooks, receive from seven to ten dollars for a seven-day week, with fourteen dollars a high wage. The hours run anywhere from eight for women to fourteen for men, nor are employers sometimes averse to squeezing out just a little more time from the women than the law allows.

In saying "most" we mean just that and nothing else but; for though some do get more, many get less, and quite a percentage receive, beside a meal or two, as we said before, exactly one dime less than ten cents a day. Should anyone doubt this we are ready to produce startling proofs which are itching for public consumption.

That such conditions obtain and misstatement of facts regarding them is possible can be evidenced by an offhand glance at any capitalist sheet between the two coasts, and the saddest part of our tale is that it is openly done without fear of arousing resentment from a people who, either dead from the collar bone up or putrid from unprincipled scheming to "get by" at any cost, are blind to everything but chasing after the elusive nickel.

It seems almost useless to reiterate that in this day of high powered industry and modern machinery, more workers are being constantly displaced and in an ever increasing ratio; nor to aver that although all were employed, it would be impossible under a system gainful to the employer to receive in

wages the full of their product. Such being the case must not the surplus be stored against future or foreign markets, and lacking those, is it not plausible that the actual creators of wealth must be laid off because they, a majority of consumers, cannot purchase the surplus value stolen from them? Unable to buy back all they create, while yet on the payroll, let us ask of, say, the writer of "Pancho Caramba," just how much purchasing power these workers retain once they are rudely divorced from all connection with wages? The editorial writer we speak of "and everyone else knows quite well" that such as he, with a mind overburdened by its load of poison propaganda will scarce find room in it for these few simple facts, clear and apparent to anyone capable of honest reflection.

Is it not logical (we address human beings, not the high priests of Mammon or their kowtowing Scribes and Pharisees whose credo reads Get the Gelt honestly, if you can, but by all means get it), that wage workers and especially those who are migratory and having no families to sponge from; forced to pay transient prices all out of keeping with their earning capacity, must drift into pool rooms and lodging houses and later the streets, for nowhere else are they welcome?

The police and everyone else knows quite "strongly" that real thieves live quite comfortably while the imitation brand, addicted to red ties and long legged "Shebas" are meat for even the quasi-intelligence usually found among policemen. Between these latter and the unfortunate "Ding" who limits his crime to begging a rare dime to keep from starving, our dungeons are usually filled to satiety, with the latter in a heavy majority.

Crying for justice amid ravening wolves would be an occupation conducive to optimism compared to the chance a victim of the system of exploitation has; dependent on the mercy of its profit mongering exponents; swelled up with their own importance and viciously selfish as no beast on earth can be but the so-called human.

Knowing all this why pick on the Post, which although a yellow sheet is only a trifle worse than most? We have nothing particularly against it more than the rest, nor shall we more than allude in passing to a matter on file regarding the trifling sum of several hundred thousand dollars loosely connected with its policy during the Teapot Dome scandal. Still, being in position where data is at hand, we are forced to use it as a concrete illustration of capitalism on the rampage and the style of its machinery (1925 model) smoothly at work.

Nor does the Post, which brings us back to Jake the Circulator again, deal entirely in money by hundred thousand lots. Indeed no! It watches the copers as well.

Many sorts, ages and conditions of men, women and babes, who selling this paper, help swell its paid circulation. Whether the fact that some are old, paralytic or blind has anything to do with its policy in employing them, we are not prepared to say, but to a man up a tree it does look as if the Post takes

into consideration the average person's sympathy for those suffering one handicap or another in business like fashion and it might further be added, whether this great daily purveyor of rot is conscious of it or not, that such unfortunates usually make most submissive slaves.

We do know, however, that it affords less protection for its "hustlers" than any newspaper we have ever come into contact with.

If in any city but Denver any newsboy infringed on territory allotted another the revolution would be on but here "wild catting" newsboys are deliberately turned loose like a swarm of bees to sell whenever and wherever they may. Not only that, but this would-be "harbinger of Justice" goes to pains to place its issues on sale on stands, in department stores, etc., and the sight of boys and girls competing for business in the middle of blocks, before and inside of office buildings is enough to make a real newsboy go stark raving crazy.

Take the case of a man who, maimed and unable to secure other employment, bethought himself of earlier experience as a newsboy and who because he knew how to sell was soon given what were supposed to be fairly good corners. By persistent effort this fellow increased his sales by about fifty per cent, yet rarely did they net him more than a few pennies over two dollars a day, while at times it amounted to less. Working for any other big city daily and under fairer conditions he might have averaged on ordinary days fair pay but hampered by the grasping policy of a circulation department which considered nothing but increased sales this was impossible.

To illustrate, let us point out a certain downtown corner where sales are slow until the closing of a large department store. The trade from this latter might have easily balanced a number of hours spent in nursing unprofitable patronage in all kinds of weather, had it not been that about twenty minutes before closing time each evening a plump, well-fed lad just out of high school passed staggering under a load of Posts with which he entered a door through which some moments later hundreds of employees came milling out. There, comfortably ensconced, he sold more sheets in fifteen minutes than the regular news vendor whose territory he intruded on disposed of in five hours of hard, steady effort.

For a solid quarter hour the wide paving would be jammed with men and women most of whom carried newspapers purchased inside while the regular man, trying to keep a stiff upper lip, made hopeless attempts to catch an odd straggler or two. His sales to these hundreds usually reached in the neighborhood of seven or eight.

Nor is this the only count against this daily in its greedy race for circulation.

Its regular newsboys take out "night extras" about 3 p. m., striving manfully to dispose of them before the supply truck rolls round at 5. If, as often happens, when around 4 o'clock a new headline or extra is released, it usually reaches the

(Continued on page Thirty-Six)

Was Morgan Wrong?

By VERN SMITH

SECTION V.—AN APPARENT EXCEPTION TO MORGAN'S THEORY

(Continued from May Issue)

THE READER will no doubt remember that in Morgan's classification slavery and nobility, hereditary kingships and divisions of the social body into ruling and subject classes take place late in the middle period of barbarism, and do not develop well until the third period of barbarism is nearly passed.

The problem which the anti-Morganites are never tired of posing for us is this: How do you account for the prevalence of both slavery and a noble class among the Indians of British Columbia, who most certainly are not barbarians, even of the lowest stage, according to Morgan's definition? And how account for the Hawaiian absolute monarchs, and class of nobles, when the people there have, according to Morgan, barely advanced to the middle status of savagery?

This is the most serious "exception" to Morgan's theory, that the whole field of anthropology affords; all other "exceptions" are so minor in comparison with it, that it seems to me that if we are able to explain away this apparent contradiction, the others may well be left to their own fate, in the assurance that someone with more space and time at his disposal will soon deal with them.

I have used the two cases, of Polynesian kingship and British Columbian nobility, as though it were one single problem, advisedly. There is a strong resemblance between not only this feature of their life, but many others, and many men before have observed it, and given it different explanations. Ratzel, Niblack, and even Boas, as well as others, have commented upon the resemblances. W. H. Dall, writing "On Masks, Labrets, and Certain Aboriginal Customs" (*Pub. Bureau Ethnology*, V. 3, Washington) states that there is an amazing identity between the general culture, the use of masks, and ornaments stuck through the lips and cheeks of the British Columbia Indians with the people of Oceanica. Some of these customs, according to Dall, have spread down from British Columbia all along the west coast of North and South America.

Most of these anthropologists are inclined to think that there was some direct connection between the Polynesian people and those of British Columbia, either through drift of canoes across the Pacific to the western coast of North America or through travel along the coast of Asia, and up to Bering Straits, and down the coast of Alaska. If this is true, then some, at least, of the "uniqueness" of the British Columbia culture is done away with, and



TARO PLANT

This plant is one of the reasons why Pacific island culture is different from others.

Goldenweiser is that much refuted.

While not wishing to deny absolutely that there could not have been such a physical connection between the two areas, it is only necessary to point out that we have never claimed that social organization can be transplanted in this way, and imposed upon a material culture that is not ready for it, and if the material culture IS ready, then the introduction of a new form of social organization, such as hereditary nobility, will be merely a speeding up of an event that would take place soon, at any rate. The problem for us is not much aided by such an hypothesis as Asiatic or Oceanic migration to British Columbia.

I have already hinted at what seems to me the main part of the solution of the problem, namely, the peculiar physical surroundings of the inhabitants of British Columbia and Oceanica, giving rise to similar aberrations from the normal course of development. In order to bring out just how much the Northwest Coast and Oceanica resemble each other, and just how far their native cultures vary from the continental type of progress, I will give a brief description of typical British Columbia and Pacific Island tribes, especially of their material development and social organization.

NORTHWEST COAST: Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl tribes (American Indians). Habitat: a row of small islands along shore, a narrow strip of heavily wooded shore with high, almost impassable mountains back of it, and an utterly distinct climate and flora across the mountains. Mate-

rial Culture: bows and arrows, spears, plank armor, club houses, big dugout canoes, stone tools, baskets, nets, domesticated dog, gardens of squash, pumpkin, corn, carving of large wood figures, excellent wood-work, boxes, bowls, etc., skin clothing. No pottery, no weaving, no metals, except sheets of native copper. **Chief Occupation:** hunting and fishing and gardening. **Social Structure:** maternal, exogamous, totemic clans with female descent and inheritance. Nobles, commoners, and slaves, who could be killed by masters. Secret societies with considerable power, using masks in rituals. Potlatch. **Property:** none in land. Potlatch kept personal property in constant circulation. **Marriage:** syndyasmian.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS: Polynesian people. No formal tribes. **Habitat:** several large islands not far apart, but nearly isolated from other groups. **Material Culture:** sling, spear, club, shield, and armor, large double canoe with platform and sail, thatched houses on stone platforms, baskets, bark cloth or paper, wooden bowls, spades, etc., nets, mats, cultivation of taro, yam, banana. No pottery, no loom, no metals. Bow and arrow little used. **Chief Occupation:** fishing, gardening with rough irrigation. **Social Structure:** feudal. Noble class of great power, upper ranks of which were divine, could impose taboo. Higher nobles or kings ruled over lesser, taxation, feudal rents, aids, tolls. Descent chiefly in female line, though sometimes in male. Chief had absolute power over own people. **Marriage:** 9 kinds of ceremonial monogamous marriage among chiefs and chieftainesses, with easy divorce; chiefs allowed any number of concubines from lower classes; punaluan marriage among common people. **Property:** common property except for personal weapons for common people. Land common in fact for lower ranks, though theoretically belonging to some chief. Conquered territory apportioned as feudal fiefs, but tenants were free to use as much as they could.

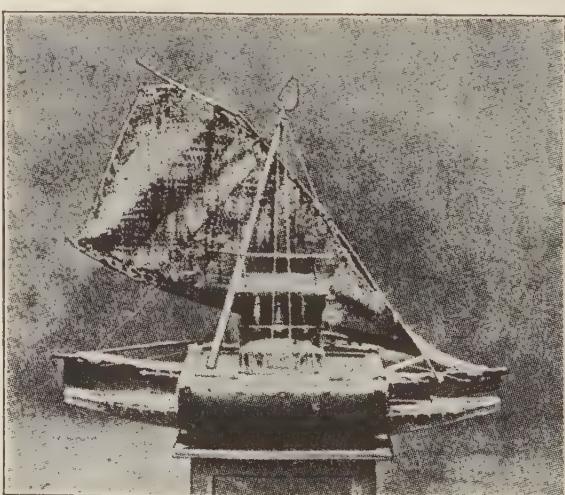
EASTER ISLAND: Polynesians. **Habitat:** fairly large island, 2,000 miles from coast of South America. **Material Culture:** throwing stones, spears, clubs, stone tools, houses on platforms. Fiji type of dug-out with outrigger, baskets, nets, mats, ropes of hemp and bark, gardens of potatoes, yams, taro, tomato, tobacco. Use banana, gourd, mulberry. Great carved rock images of important persons recently deceased. Crude hieroglyphics as memory aid, carved on wood or stone. No bow, metal, pottery, loom or sling. **Chief Occupation:** fishing and gardening. **Social Structure:** numerous and powerful clans, hereditary king, supreme and not concerned with clan fights. Hereditary chiefs of clans, but succession can be vetoed by king. Privileged class of brave warriors, carvers of images, or anybody who performs public service. **Marriage:** perhaps polygamous, and certainly with loaning of women. **Property:** theft not immoral, land held by clans and families.

MAQUESAS ISLANDS: Polynesians. Group of small islands, tropical climate, and not easily culti-

vated except by gardening. **Material Culture:** sling, club, spear, large double platform and sail, houses on stone platforms, with wooden doors and carved posts, baskets, nets, wooden boxes, taro and fruit culture, stone tools, bark clothing, big stone images, bow and arrow as toy only. No pottery, no loom, no armor. **Chief Occupation:** fishing and gardening. **Social Structure:** tribes, headed by chiefs of little more than ceremonial power in times of peace. Tribal confederacies. Organized priesthood, very powerful, human sacrifice, tendency in northern Marquesas to deify chiefs. Class of skilled craftsmen and great warriors. **Rank:** hereditary chiefs, inspirational priests, ceremonial priests, temple assistants, warriors, skilled craftsmen, commoners. Classes not rigid, but customary. **Marriage:** general promiscuity of young unmarried people, punaluan marriage afterwards, with tendency towards syndyasmian. **Property:** owned in theory by king or chief, but really land was for all who could use it, and personal property consisted of tools, weapons, ornaments.

TAHITI (or Society Islands): Polynesians. Group of small islands. **Material Culture:** clubs, spear, armor, thatch and mat house (on stone platform in old days, but not recently), plank canoe, baskets, nets, gardens of taro and other plants, bark cloth, cut and polished stone slabs and adzes, bow is considered toy. No pottery, no metal, no loom. **Social Structure:** feudal organization, divine chiefs, well organized priesthood. (But Encyc. Brit. says that when Capt. Cook came, each district was independent, and feudal structure was built up through guns and other aid he gave the chief of Papeeti, who conquered the rest of the districts.) **Marriage:** punaluan. Promiscuity of unmarried. **Property:** land held in theory by chiefs, actually by user. Private property in tools, etc.

SAMOAN ISLANDS: three moderately sized islands, eleven very small. Mid Pacific. Polynesians.



MODEL OF POLYNESIAN DOUBLE CANOE
Large Boats for making ocean voyages. The Polynesian migrations explain much that seems to contradict Morgan.

Material Culture: clubs, sling, spear, armor. Houses on stone platforms, plank canoe, with outrigger and sail, wooden boxes, bark cloth, rough stone tools, baskets, nets. Cultivate taro, yam, etc. Bow and arrow considered toy. No pottery, no metal, no loom.

Social Structure: whole group of islands one political unit, with divine priesthood which had little other than ceremonial power. No organized priesthood, but much power in hands of inspirational priests. Vestiges of clan, mother's brother and father's sister equally honored with real parents. **Marriage:** arranged by man's father's sister. **Property:** land controlled by those who plant it, private property in weapons, etc.

CHATHAM ISLAND: Southwestern Pacific. Fairly large land area with very poor flora and fauna; no building stone, no trees big enough for canoe, poor for cultivation. Polynesians. **Material Culture:** spear, club, flint knife, bone dagger, quarter staff; houses without walls, poor wattled canoe, baskets, many varieties of nets, fish traps, etc., polished stone tools, seal skin and mat clothing. No metal, no loom, no pottery. **Chief Occupation:** fishing. No agriculture. **Social Structure:** tribes, with fairly well marked territories within which each is migratory. Hereditary, heaven born chiefs, with much ceremonial and little temporal power. Tribal assemblies. **Marriage:** made by relatives, polygamy, Levirate (marriage of brother to dead brother's wife —relic of punaluan marriage). Evidence of something like clan in the past. **Property:** private property in tools, etc., not in sources of food supply.

NEW ZEALAND: large island near Australia. Polynesians. **Material Culture:** clubs, spears, armor, bark cloth; houses without stone platforms, good dugout canoes with plank sides, wood boxes, large images, rough stone walls, etc., polished stone tools, nets, baskets; bow formerly. No pottery, no metal, no loom until very recently. **Social Structure:** tribes, chiefs hereditary, divine, powerful especially in time of war, but limited by rigid custom and tribal council in peace, priest chiefs and wizards, but no organized priesthood.

TIKOPIA (Barwell's Island): small island, alone. People seem to be mixed Polynesian and Melanesian. **Material Culture:** houses, dugouts with outrigger and sail, bows and arrows, clubs, nets, stone tools, baskets, gardening of taro, etc., bark cloth, mats. **Chief Occupations:** fishing and gardening. **Social Structure:** four territorial, totemic clans, not exogamous. Chiefs with great power, revered. Women of chief's family cannot marry commoners. Commoners crawl in presence of chief. Succession in male line. **Marriage:** recently polygamous. Father's sister chooses wife. Simulated capture of wife. **Property:** private control of planted land.

FIJI ISLANDS: group of moderate sized islands. Melanesians. **Material Culture:** varies on coast and in interior, and island to island. Bow and arrow. Dugout and outrigger. Gardening, fishing. Bark cloth, houses. Stone tools, pottery. No loom. So-

cial Structure (in interior): small groups, endogamous phratries and clans, totemic, and totemic animals are taboo. Common men live in one club house and chiefs in another. Chiefs have privileges, but not real authority, at least in time of peace. Mother's brother has much authority over boy. **Marriage:** regulations as to cousin's marriage differ. Levirate. Rigid restriction on intercourse between man and brother's wife and wife's sister. **Property:** no private property in sources of food supply.

BANKS ISLANDS: small islands, part of New Hebrides group. Melanesians. **Material Culture:** houses, some of them on piles with wood platforms, big clubhouses; spear, bow and arrow, club, gardening and horticulture, dugouts, pig domesticated, shell money; loom, bark cloth. **Chief Occupation:** gardening and tree planting. **Social Structure:** two phratries or moities, subdivided into maternal, totemic clans. Men's club, called Sukwe, in which there is gradation of rank, each rank purchased at fixed price, and with elaborate ritual. Ranks live in different parts of clubhouse, each compartment taboo against men of lower rank. Tamate, secret religious society, only highest ranks of Tamate can enter highest circle of Sukwe. Upper grades of these societies have great power and social prestige. **Marriage:** by purchase; punaluan, with tendency towards monogamy. Levirate. **Property:** private ownership and inheritance of land cleared and planted to trees. Some common land for each family. Kole-kole ceremony, during which property and "designs" are given away, expected of all rich men.

PENTECOST and LEPERS ISLAND: part of New Hebrides group. Tahau tribes. Melanesians. Rather small islands. **Material Culture:** bow and arrow, dugout and outrigger, gardening, clothing of mats. Baskets, nets, spear, club, houses of mats and thatch, pottery, bark cloth, use of loom doubtful. **Social Structure:** two phratries or tribes, with exogamous totemic clans. Society identical with Sukwe of Banks Islands, and probably another like Tamate. **Marriage:** arranged by father's sister, who also secures concubines for nephew. Levirate.

MALAITA and SAN CRISTOVAL ISLANDS: in Solomon Islands. Rather large islands. Melanesians. **Material Culture:** houses, gardening, nets, baskets, pottery, bark cloth, bow and arrow, spear, club. No loom. **Social Structure:** both matrilineal and patrilineal gens. Villages exogamous. Societies with graded rank, and chiefs with real power. **Marriage:** exogamous, syndyasmian. **Property:** cleared and planted land belongs to man who planted it. Private property in tools, etc.

FLORIDA, GUADALCANAR, YSABEL, SAVO ISLANDS: two of them pretty large islands, in Solomon Archipelago. **Material Culture:** houses, canoes, pottery, bark cloth, club, spear, bow and arrow, stone tools, stone and wooden images of dead chiefs, gardens, nets, baskets, no loom, no metals. **Social Structure:** men's clubs, chiefs have power, especially in war. Two to six clans on each island, exogamous, totemic, matrilineal. **Marriage:** mother's



OLD PICTURE OF STONE FORT IN HAWAII
Military science was the thing most highly developed by the Polynesians.

brother, father's sister, and brother's wife avoid one, or are highly respected and practically exercise parental authority. **Property:** common land for clan, but right of possession by those who clear and plant any portion of it, perhaps inheritance through male line.

TORRES ISLANDS: small islands, part of New Hebrides group. Melanesians. **Material Culture:** bow and arrow, club, spear, stone tools, arrows used for money; dugout canoe, outrigger and sail; houses, mats and nets, bark cloth, baskets, no loom, no metals, gardening. **Social Structure:** men's clubs, similar to Sukwe, powerful chiefs; two large phratries or perhaps tribes, with subdivisions. **Marriage:** pu-naluan. **Property:** no private property in land, but perhaps right of possession of planted land.

SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS: rather small islands, near Solomons. Melanesians. **Material Culture:** houses, bow and arrow, spear, club, dugout and outrigger with sail, bark cloth, loom, pottery, some gardening, nets, baskets. **Social Structure:** nine maternal groups (probably clans) totemic, unmarried men live together in clubhouse. Father's sister takes much of the responsibility of raising child. Chiefs with power during war, societies with graded rank. **Marriage:** exogamous. **Property:** not much private property, except tools and weapons, and shell money. Probably paternal inheritance.

VANIKOLO ISLAND: small island, near Santa Cruz group. **Material Culture:** houses, bow and arrow, clubs, spears, shell money, gardens of taro, horticulture, domesticated pig, dugout and outrigger with sail, loom, pottery. **Social structure:** Ten maternal, exogamous clans, totemic. Chiefs have power in time of war. **Marriage:** by purchase. **Property:** paternal inheritance (?).

NEW IRELAND, DUKE OF YORK, GAZELLE PENINSULA AND NORTH COAST OF NEW BRITAIN: Large islands, some continental features. Inhabited by Laur, Sulka, Baining people. **Material culture:** houses, bow and arrow, club, spear, dugout with outrigger and sail; shell money, domestic pig and fowl, gardens, pottery, use of loom doubtful. **Social structure:** exogamous, matrilineal, totemic clans. Laur have two phratries, with clans as subdivisions. Men's clubs, not graded

in rank. Tendency for hereditary, powerful chieftainship, especially in southern New Ireland and New Britain. Other parts, secret society, "dukduk," is ruler, and chieftainship depends on ability to purchase initiation and promotion in it.

YAP, in Caroline group. Moderate size. Micronesians. **Material culture:** houses built on stone platform, gardening, pottery, loom, cloth of bark, also fishing, by boat and net, baskets, bow and arrow, spear, club, stone tools. **Social organization:** tribes, territorial, slave class, which is a conquered tribe (the Pimlingai). Slaves' chief disadvantage is that they cannot be tatooed and are not respected. **Marriage:** syndyasmian, with relic of group marriage of captured women in institution of "mistral" or common wife of whole club-house full of otherwise unmarried men. This wife is always brought by force, from a distant tribe, and is not a slave. **Property:** Private property of gardens and groves privately planted; money, especially large stone money.*

The above list is fairly complete for Polynesian islands, includes the most important Micronesian group, and samples from most of the important Melanesian groups. The remaining Melanesian islands are omitted for the very good reason that too little can be found out about them by a person confined to the city of Chicago. What is known of them seems to show that they follow the regular line of Melanesian culture, and may therefore be omitted from the present survey without much loss. (Churchill speaks of three sorts of Melanesian culture, and Rivers thinks there are more, but both of them are infected by the pluralistic bias previously discussed in this magazine). The most important groups not touched upon are the Louisiades, New Caledonia (one large island), Loyalty Islands, and much farther north, the Marshall and Gilbert groups. New Guinea, the East Indies in general, the Philippines, and Australia are so continental in character, either because they are such very large islands or because they are so close to the mainland of Asia as to be affected by it that they cannot come within the scope of this inquiry. Neither do they exhibit the curious distortion of Morgan's theory of the normal development of classes, nobles and slaves which we set out to explain.

It would be interesting to extend this survey to the West Indies, but, unfortunately, the Spanish were no different from the English and the Dutch; they were poor anthropologists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they killed all the natives almost without any other observation of them than was necessary to get their range with the arquebus.

*NOTE: The facts in this chart of island culture are drawn principally from *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Bishop Museum Publications*, *Carnegie Institute Publications*, *Smithsonian Institution Publications*, *SEMPLE, Influences of Geographic Environment*; *DANE, Fijian Society*; *ELLIS, Tour Through Hawaii*; *BLACKMAN, Making of Hawaii*; *LOWIE, Culture and Ethnology*; *GOLDENWEISER, Early Civilization*; *RIVERS, History of Melanesian Society*; *THOMPSON, Easter Island*; *WILLIAMSON, Ways of the South Sea Savages*; *ST. JOHNSTON, Islanders of the Pacific*; *LAWRENCE, Old Time Hawaiians*.

What little record of the Indians they have left us seems to show that the general culture and social organization of the West Indies was about like that of Melanesia.

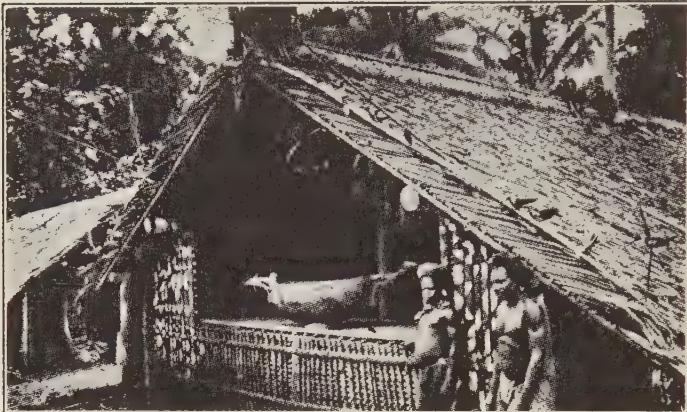
So coming back to the question of the peculiar aberrations in the culture of the peoples of Oceanica and of the Northwest coast, let us look first at their aspects which fit into Morgan's classification. Let us disregard the Polynesians for a minute, since theirs is a peculiar case, a further and temporary deviation from the small island modification of Morgan's system. Take the Melanesians, and British Columbians. They are all people who build houses; where the big woods are, as in British Columbia, they use planks, but where reeds and vines and suitable materials for matting are more plentiful than trees, they may use these. They do not live in tents. They use the bow and arrow, which means that they are at least in the third stage of savagery. Some of them use pottery, some use baskets daubed with clay; these according to Morgan are in the first stage of barbarism. But the general culture of those who do use pottery is very like that of those who do not use it; and pottery is not so very necessary to any of them, for those who do not have suitable raw food, such as fruit, ready for them, have good wood receptacles, water-tight baskets, stone bowls, etc., and the earth oven, a substitute for cooking pots, is everywhere. None of them had advanced to the use of domestic animals with the possible exception of the pig and dog (perhaps the whites introduced these), and none of them made brick. They all have some sort of social system based on relationship, either real in our sense, or nominal.* They all have either a punaluan or a very syndyasmian marriage, or where monogamy exists, it is only preserved by drastic laws, and fierce taboos, and it is often a monogamy that has many customary or religious exceptions to it. That is, their families are either of the group sort, or show signs of having recently been such, and group or syndyasmian marriage is what is to be expected, according to Morgan, in third degree savagery, and first degree barbarism. Furthermore, there are many evidences of a communism of productive property, especially in land. Thus, Rivers says that there is always some common property among the Banks Islanders for all families, and there is never any dispute about this, though disputes over

*NOTE: Take care not to underestimate the importance of organization on the basis of sex and relationship. This organization underlies all of the division into classes of masters and slaves in the Melanesian-Micronesian-Northwest Coast area. Fiji is an example. The chiefs have power. But even here, Dean says (Fijian Society, pp. 100-101): ". . . the native is born into a social system, the kernel of which is the matangali or clan. The Fijian clan is a kind of enlarged family, where all elders are fathers, and all juniors are children. Family relationships are not very clearly differentiated (so far as authority is concerned) from clan relationship. It is an uncommon occurrence for a distant aunt to beat her nephew; so long as they are of the same matangali, it is legitimate enough. If one of the clan is ill, the members of the clan will travel twenty or thirty miles on foot to see him . . . All larger works are carried out by clan labor . . . in the old days . . . if a house had to be built, the clan did it; if a large canal had to be made, members of the matangali or of several matangali excavated it, and so with every other undertaking of importance."

the property which has been cleared and planted with trees and is therefore in the private control of an individual, are very common. And this situation is nearly universal in Oceanica. Even the personal property was not hoarded, or desired for itself alone, but for the prestige which comes from giving it away. There was not, as Morgan says, the "passion for private property, the great ruling passion of modern times." The potlatch ceremony among the British Columbia Indians was a grand distribution of property, ceremonial and festive, and those who received the more unconsumable sorts, planned to give them away to another big feast. Ostracism and public hatred and scorn would be visited on anyone who did not give his goods away. In the Banks Islands, we have a precisely similar ceremony, the kole-kole, in which under pretense of celebrating the coming of age of a daughter, or the opening of a new house, rich people gave their goods away at great festivals. He who had property and did not conduct magnificent kole-kole ceremonies, would be thought quite unsocial, and beneath contempt. Of the Fiji islanders, the Rev. W. Deane (*Fijian Society*) says that they considered that all the members of the matangali, or clan, had a lien upon the personal property of every other member and could prevent his disposing of it freely, could borrow it, and the owner did not have the right to refuse, etc. Throughout this whole district of Melanesia, Micronesia, and British Columbia, land was common, or had very slight proprietary rights which went to the person who cleared it, or his descendants, and there was a disposition to regard personal property as more or less common, merely in the custody of the persons we should suppose to be its owners, and it was a custody which they were supposed to relax under a number of circumstances. All of this is about what we should expect of peoples in the third stage of savagery, or the first stage of barbarism, with the exception of the proprietorship of cleared land, and that is a situation that does not normally arise among the continental savages because gardening does not play so important a part in their life as in that of the dwellers on tropical islands.

Taking them all around, the peoples we have been discussing, fit fairly well into the picture Morgan draws of the third stage of savagery and the first of barbarism: bow and arrow, spear, club; practically no domesticated animals, hunting and fishing, gardening, pottery in some cases, houses to live in, boats and canoes, nets, baskets, group or syndynasmian marriage, tribes and gentes or clans, immature development of the rights of private property, village life; no loom, no metal, no field agriculture, no true writing. There is perhaps too much development of gardening and horticulture for absolute symmetry, but that is a substitute for hunting.

But in spite of this general complexion of third grade savagery and first grade barbarism which all the peoples of Melanesia, Micronesia, and the



GAMAL, OR CLUB HOUSE FOR MEN

One of the features of island life is the men's clubs, some of which are graded in rank like the Masons.

Pacific coast have, there exists among them all a strong tendency towards social rank and classes which does not at first sight agree with the Morgan classification. The critics of Morgan as we know already, point it out in triumph, and claim that it refutes his entire theory. Let us then make some examination of the social classes of these savages and barbarians. At a glance, they seem to be quite different in each area. In Southern New Britain and New Ireland, hereditary chiefs; in the Banks Islands, chief whose power does not amount to much, but whose social prestige is enormous, and is dependent on their ability to get money enough to advance from degree to degree in the Sukwe, their type of Freemasonry, or in the Tamate, which is an esoteric religious order. And then again, you have the Fiji island chiefs, who are divine, and powerful, and who are even now, under the observation of the white scientist, trying to make out that Lala, the power of calling out the clans for communal labors, is also a right of theirs when they wish personal services performed. And of course, there is the Duk Duk of northern Melanesia society, similar to the graded orders of the Banks islanders, and having the same effect, of building up a privileged, authoritative class, which also implies a degraded, submerged class, and which does not fit in with the "normal" free democratic clan organization of the upper savages and lower barbarians of continental areas. Naturally, we consider too the hereditary nobility of British Columbia, and the class of slaves there. And in most islands, there is the intermediate group of skilled craftsmen, carpenters, canoe-builders, tatoos, priest's assistants, paint mixers, or what not, invariably an organized group, tending to become hereditary, though still open to the admission of new blood.

However, we must take care not to exaggerate the importance of these classes, and not read into the word, "slave," "noble," etc., the meaning that long acquaintance with the institutions in very

modern times has placed there. The slaves of the

British Columbia Indians, were not worked, in most instances, much harder than the commoners, nor, for that matter, the nobles. They had certain disadvantages: they were likely to be sacrificed, and the nobles had certain advantages, places of prestige at the feasts and ceremonies, and a freedom from the danger of being knocked in the head to provide a pagan holiday. The Pimlingai of Yap worked very little more than the freemen of that colony, but they were not considered of good social standing, and they could not be tattooed, and part of the job of barbarism consists in having pretty pictures punctured into one's skin. The Banks Islands' lower class had very much the same sort of disadvantages: their only alleviation being that they could advance if they could get the shell money with which to purchase rank.

But this gentle sort of slavery, and ceremonial rather than remunerative type of nobility, is just the normal type of both institutions. If any of the primitive peoples had been brought face to face with class exploitation in the forms in which it exists in modern times, they would have shied away from it as from the pest. Neither institution started in full force, both were comparatively easy to take in the beginning—sweetly innocent and picturesque, little tiger kittens whom no one would expect to grow up in the course of the years, and demand full rations of human flesh and blood. Slavery and nobility, division of society into classes, was essentially the same in the Pacific basin as it was, in its origin, on the continents. The difference lay in the fact that slavery and nobility came earlier in island society than it did in continental society—two whole ethnical periods earlier.

Is it necessary to look far for the reason? Is it not a truism of anthropology, though the fact was first stated by Morgan, that slavery on the continents developed when there was something for the slaves to do, that they could do without being placed in a position where they could run away? Hunting tribes could not send out slaves to hunt because they would never come home, if they had any sense. But with field agriculture and pastoral life, there was a chance to use slave labor in gangs, with armed guards standing over them, if necessary, which it usually was not, for there was usually no place for the slaves to escape to, the country being thickly settled. Ships meant that slaves could be chained to the oar, and used without danger of their escaping. Mines and quarries were best of all for the masters of slaves—as useful to ancient Greed exploiters as to modern Americans. Field agriculture, herds, ships and mines did not exist in the lower stages of barbarism, and there was nothing to take their place on the continents; that is why, in the continents, there was a classless society during that period.

But on the islands there was something to take their place. Fishing with boats and nets and fishing with traps is gang labor, which slaves can do, under guard, if necessary. So is gardening with hoes and wooden spades, provided there are no friendly forests to escape through. Not only does such gardening play a much more important part on the tropical islands than it does on the continents (forty square feet of taro will support a man—*Blackman, Making of Hawaii*, p. 10—and many times that area of maize or pumpkins will not support him), but likewise there was no good in running away to the forest: the slave could not get off the island, and would be recaptured. True, the Tlingit and Haida slaves could go over the Rockies—to the barren wastes of what is now Saskatchewan—they preferred to stay on the milder Pacific Coast and be slaves.

There is no rejection of Morgan in this; this is the very essence of Morganism, and the thing can be carried further, to abolish the few remaining difficulties; for instance, the apparent individuality of the island cultures in this respect, that some develop their social classes through societies, (primitive Freemasonry, or Knights Templar organizations), and others through the growth of the power of the hereditary chiefs. Rivers takes note of the fact that the secret societies are strongest on the small islands, and the chiefs weakest there, and that the chieftainship is more likely to be hereditary and authoritative on the large islands, and the secret societies of small importance there.

What could be more natural? The economic and climatic conditions make for classes—but the two sorts of ruling classes are antagonistic. A great family of warrior kings looks with extreme disfavor on the relatively democratic secret societies, in which any clever person who can acquire personal property can advance, and hinder the free use of royal authority. The orders of priesthood, the secret religious orders especially, must come under his influence. So we have the absolutist chief making himself a god, demanding that the priests serve him, etc., as long as the people will stand for him, and in the large islands they will, because military science is of more importance there. There is room for military maneuvers, armies count, and an army has far more chance of winning with a single absolute commander at its head, than with a secret society or some superstitious priests trying to run it. Needless to say, such chiefs are also antagonistic to clan rights, also.

This brings us to the question of the Polynesians, an essentially military and within recent times, a very migratory people. Their social system represents a temporary modification of the typical island society. Their material culture, except for stone walls and platforms, of military significance, is distinctly lower than that of many of the Melanesians and Micronesians. They are by Morgan's test in second degree savagery, near the top of that

division. They have no pottery, and they do not use the bow and arrow, though they know about it. They do not have the clan or gens, but have extensive feudal states, with kings, great lords, lesser lords, a permanent hereditary noble class, and a great class of commoners, with divisions into craftsmen, priests and peasants. The kings are absolutely divine, sacred, untouchable, and have complete authority—their will is law—at least in all the larger divisions.

Their family is punaluan, except for the nobles, while the family of the Melanesians and Micronesians is punaluan with strong tendencies towards the syndyasmian, or is syndyasmian, with relics of the punaluan, in general a higher form than the Polynesian. The marriage of nobles in Polynesia is a queer mixture of the consanguine, the punaluan, and the monogamous. How then shall we explain this complex without doing violence to the Morgan classification?

The history of Polynesia gives the clue. The Polynesians were a Caucasian, or mixture of Caucasian and Mongolian people, living up to about 1000 B. C., in the East Indies. The Malayans came down on them with the sword of the Lord, which is to say, with iron and steel weapons, and a generally superior culture, and drove them out, village by village, out to sea, eastward.*

Perhaps the Polynesians had a clan system, in their original habitat, we cannot say; if so, the clan system would disappear within one generation, for the clan is a military unit as well as a social unit, and clansmen fight together, take ship together when beaten, and then, there being no other clan to contrast with this one, the clan loses its significance and is forgotten.

They would have time enough to carry but few women with them, the women of their leaders perhaps, and of these women, the descendants, being of pure Polynesian stock, would be whiter and taller than the commoners, who descended from dark-skinned Melanesian women captured on the way, would maintain a pride of ancestry and a purity of race which explains the peculiar marriage regulations of the chiefs, as well as the difference in appearance between the nobles and the commoners of Hawaii, Tahiti, and other such islands, a difference mentioned by many observers. The Polynesians fought their way straight through the whole Melanesian territory, and settled the islands farthest East, North and South. They went no farther because they had come to extraordinarily wide spaces of ocean, or if any did go, they found the American Indian culture, and were either merged in it or destroyed by it. In Tahiti, Samoa, Hawaii, Easter Island, and New Zealand, they faced about, with their backs to the impassable sea, and fought it out, and won. Their career was then

*NOTE: All authorities agree on the migration, though not on all the details. See CHURCHILL, "Sissano," Carnegie Institution Pub. No. 244; RIVERS, *History of Melanesian Society*; ST. JOHNSTON, *Islanders of the Pacific*; S. PERCY SMITH, *Hawaiki*.

an extremely military one, and the military sciences, and the military structure of society, were enormously developed. Pride of race among those of pure white or white-yellow descent, was much fed by the fact that they had added to their superior physical development likewise military and religious prestige. The gens and the clan were either never allowed to develop, or if they had existed once, were destroyed. The Melanesian moieties and gens of course, such a brotherhood of conquerors would despise. Even the absence of a serious interest in the bow and arrow and the use of slings instead is understood by a knowledge of the military nature of their careers—for where armor can be used (armor of pliable materials such as matting, bark, or skin) the arrow is stopped, but the stone hurled by the sling can still give quite a blow. Also, where footmen can advance in close order, arrows are ineffective. On the other hand, the spear is always a good weapon, especially if there is a boat on which to rest the shield, or sufficient open territory for military strategy. The spear, in the form of the bayonet on the end of a rifle, is still used in war. Battles are still decided, wherever the terrain permits, by what is fundamentally a mass of spearmen charging forward in close order. Where conditions do not permit or stimulate the science of tactics, wherever armies are largely secondary in importance and individual dueling or surprise attacks are the rule, the bow is the best weapon. War was not so necessary for Melanesians, and they kept the bow and arrow.

But even in spite of all these reasons for a Polynesian reaction to the environment different from that of the other island dwellers; the environment was winning, was dragging the Polynesian culture into conformity with the normal island culture, at the time when the Polynesians were discovered and nearly eliminated from the human race.

The military structure of feudalism was preserved in its purity only in the large islands of the Hawaiian group. In the Marquesas, Linton (*Material Culture of the Marquesas*) says specifically that the power of the chiefs was not nearly so great as in Hawaii. In Easter Island, where there was not so much room for maneuvering, warfare had degenerated into clan fighting, and the chiefs although they were hereditary, were ornamental rather than despotic, and though they were respected in formal ways, they were not feared as were those in Hawaii and Tahiti. In Easter Island armor had disappeared for the bow had been forgotten and not yet reinvented. In Tahiti also, family fighting was developing, the bow and arrow were in use, and the chiefs, though extremely powerful, as compared with those of Melanesia, were beginning to depend more and more on the "spiritual gendarmerie"—there was a complex hierarchy of priests who themselves had great power, and the power of the chiefs depended on their getting

themselves revered as gods. Fiji and Tikopia showed mixed cultures.

Likewise the triumph of the environment is shown in the punaluan family, which we must suppose to have developed out of the first common property of all the warriors in all the Melanesian women captured in their raids. And, as Morgan says, the punaluan family has the germ of the gens in it. The gens could not develop as long as the chiefs were so absolute, but in the prevailing stage of material culture, the chiefs were sure to gradually lose out, and the gens was sure to gradually develop, once the great migration was over, and the Polynesians began to forget it. Indeed, the process was carried along pretty far, in the outlying portions of Polynesia, Easter Island and New Zealand, for instance. This new gens growing up here, perhaps for the second time among the same people, might not be exactly like the North American Indian gens, but its main features would be the same, and it would result in a form of social organization based on relationship and sex, and with somewhat democratic features. (One might remark here that Morgan himself thought the gens to be such a neat and well-thought-out institution that he could not believe it to originate in more than one place, and supposed it to be transferred from there, from tribe to tribe. This is an in-



MAORI CHIEF

A Polynesian of New Zealand. Disregard the tatoo marks, and notice the Caucasian aspect of his face.

ternal contradiction in his own theory, and is not true, except for minor details of gens structure).

Feudal land tenure in Polynesia was gathering around itself a body of custom and peasant rights, which drove it towards communism again.

Given time, it is almost certain that the Polynesian problem would have disappeared, and there would have been one general, Oceanic culture, not quite like that of the savages and barbarians of the continents, but not so different as that of Polynesia. What is there in all of this that violates the principle of social evolution, or the theories of Morgan?

It seems queer, just at first, that anyone should doubt that societies evolve. How can they doubt the general theory when they have before them all the time the undeniable facts that European and Asiatic historical society evolves, and is still evolving? There is a steady change, similar for each great people, within recorded times, from nomad hordes through a transition period of slave states to feudalism and then from that, through a three-hundred year transition period to capitalism. And of course though they may not admit it, we claim there are signs of an earlier old age and quicker demise for capitalism than that which feudalism had.

If the historic peoples of Europe evolved socially, why deny such evolution to the more primitive, and non-historical peoples? Especially when we know the Germans, the French, the Scandinavians were primitive and non-historical themselves once? There is in the beginning then, a presumption against the non-evolutionist argument, which can only be removed by some evidence that there is something in the physical or mental structure of the present savages and barbarians that prevents them from reacting to their environment in the way that others have done. But surprisingly enough (a pleasant surprise) the school of Boas argues just the opposite, and he and his followers deny that there is any such difference in the races of mankind, which leaves one wondering just how they can explain their strange stand. As far as I can see, they don't try to explain it. They do not say so in plain words, but one gets the impression that they infer that it cannot be explained. They point to the "facts," and say, "See, the Digger Indians lived in California for centuries without raising oranges, or mining gold, whereas the country is suitable for both occupations, and the white race did both, within a short time after it came to the state. But the Indians are psychologically and physically equal to the whites. Cultures are just different, etc."

It will be remembered by the reader that Morgan's scheme divided the course of progress so far into three stages of savagery, three of barbarism, and two of civilization, each of which was set off from the other by certain typical or extremely important inventions; each new tool in fact creating the new stage by making possible a new way

of obtaining food, and thereby through materialistic determinism (Morgan does not use the word, but describes the process fairly well) creating a new sort of society, a new sort of family relationship, and in the long run, a new art, philosophy, and religion; insofar as any parts of the old culture were ill adapted to the new material environment created by the new tool, they were modified or abandoned.

When this basis of Morgan's theory is once thoroughly understood, the difficulties and apparent exceptions become explainable. I have already pointed out that communication, if it does mean insecurity, does speed up evolution, because evolution depends on invention, and inventions are made by individuals. I do not wish to be understood as arguing that inventions come by chance, or by the grace of God or great men— inventions seem to spring from the relationship of men to their environment—a similar environment bringing sooner or later, the corresponding useful tool or weapon, with all the consequences that follow in its train. But geographical conditions, flora and fauna, and weather conditions, are never quite the same, and social environment also does react on the power of invention, to hinder it, usually. Churches and priests have always fought innovation. For many reasons, then, a people may be delayed in making the typical reaction to its environment, suitable to the tools it possesses. It may make inferior substitutes for new tools, and may fail to adopt the best types of organization for long periods, and this is especially true when communication is bad, and especially true among the most primitive peoples. Probably this accounts for the already mentioned tendency of peoples in the lower stages of barbarism and upper stages of savagery to specialize somewhat (not as much as the American School of Anthropology would have us believe). But sooner or later, if they are left alone long enough, they make the right inventions. Usually they are not left alone; especially nowadays the great capitalist culture flows on and over them, the Indian becomes a wage slave in the orange orchards; the Hawaiian islands blossom with modern capitalistic civilization, and resound to the roar of the guns of the dreadnaughts.

Lest I be accused of mysticism, of belief in "life forces" perhaps, let me make one thing clear now. When we Morganites speak of "typical development" or "normal development," we mean the usual development. Mankind had for his home principally continents with large animals roaming about on them, and a sub-tropical or temperate climate. Communication was not especially difficult over the greater part of these continents, and inventions followed a fairly regular course, even where there was no (or little) interchange of culture, simply because conditions were very similar over most of the area in which men lived. This then, we mean by "normal development."

But the Eskimo, the inhabitants of equatorial

forests, and the inhabitants of small islands in the sea, develop slower, because they have fewer importations of culture, and their "normal development," because of their different physical surroundings, is somewhat different. It is not entirely different but different only insofar as the environment is different. Morgan, developing his new theories, paid most attention to the resemblances, to the "normal development," and did not bother with the slight variations of it. Anti-Morganites have used this fact as a weapon against evolutionism in general. By a process of holding the Morganite to the letter of the law that Morgan discovered and disregarded its spirit; by insisting that the reasons for Morgan's particular division into cultural stages shall be disregarded, and all peoples shall be measured by the "normal" standard, from the Eskimos to the Papuans—the standard of course to be rejected altogether if any discrepancies are found, they have built up their case against Morgan.

It seems to me that the discrepancies are neither as great as the American School maintains, nor as hard to explain. We need to develop Morgan's theory a little, in the manner in which he developed it as far as he went, and not to abandon it. To show how this can be done, I have in this section taken the most important of the "discrepancies" and shown, that, after all, it is not so hard to handle. Let others do likewise.

SUMMARY

1—Morgan's conclusions are evidence of the accuracy of Marx and Engles' Materialistic Conception of History, though the Materialistic Conception has plenty of other proof besides.

2—Morgan's theories are challenged by a group who express the ideology of American petty bourgeoisie and professional classes, particularly the group of college professors and students, whose reaction to their environment causes them to adopt a theory that there is no theory.

3—An inspection of the writings of this "New School of Anthropology" shows that they have confined their criticism to that part of Morgan's evidence based on a study of living savages and barbarians, which might allow us to consider Morgan's theory proved by the evidence of European and Asiatic pre-history, merely declaring the cases given by the "New School" of present-day savages and barbarians, to be exceptions.

4—But a closer scrutiny shows that the criticism of the "New School" even within the field to which they have confined themselves, is faulty, and the exceptions to Morgan's theory are not so many as the "New School" claims, the reason for which claims is again the psychological attitude of the members of the "New School."

5—And a still closer scrutiny of the facts in the case shows that the most important of the exceptions which really do exist, is but an exception to Morgan's "normal" classification (which Morgan himself admitted was tentative) and is a justification of the principle on which his entire theory is based.

6—There is a presumption that the other, and minor, actual exceptions are of the same nature.

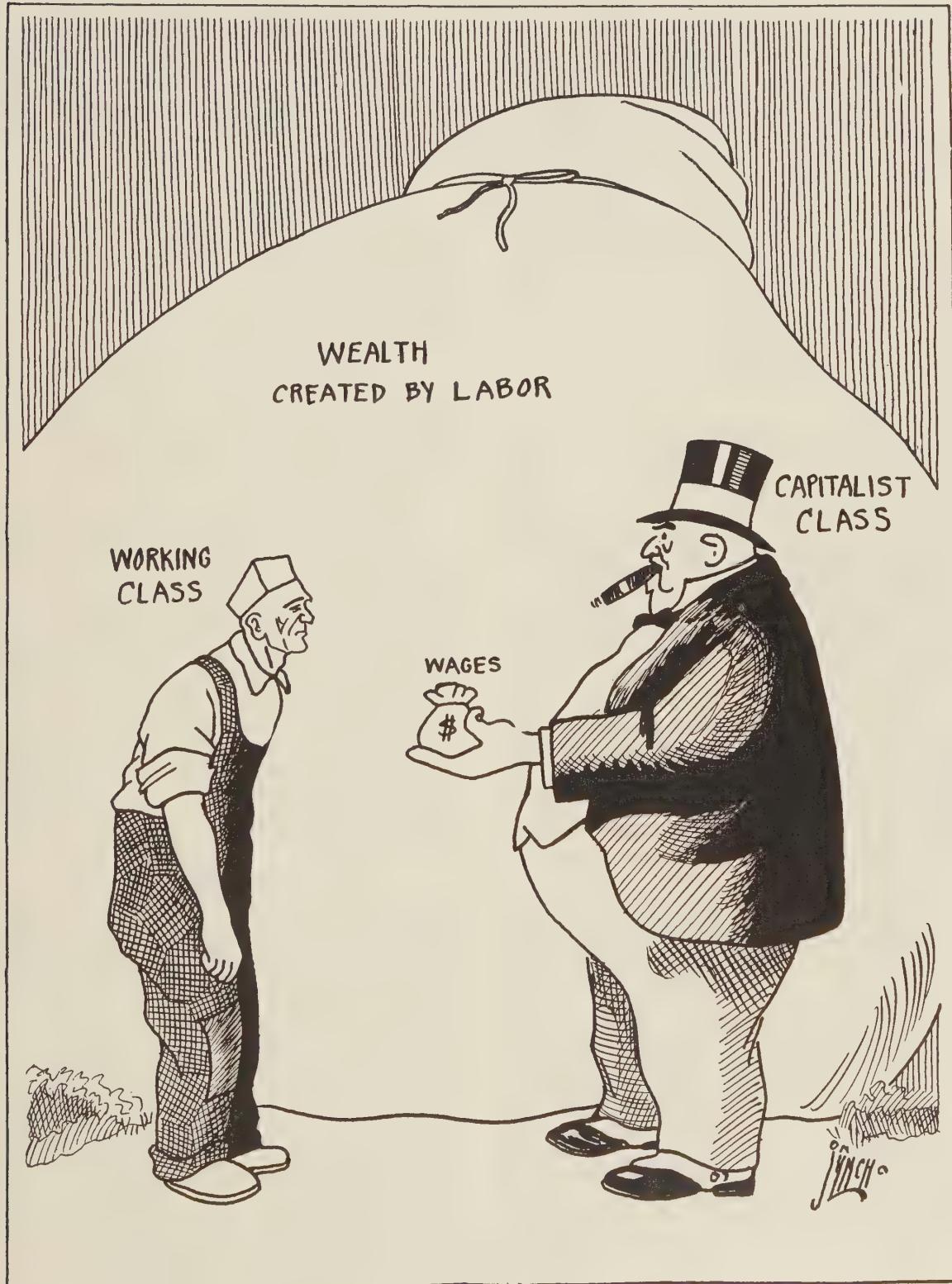
— THE END —

Credo

By VIOLET RAY

Tremble not 'neath tornadoes of dark life,
Their fiery blasts invigorate the soul
Over the bleeding barricades of strife
Let your fierce challenge like the thunder roll!
I laugh at bells of doom that loudly ring,
And care not for the pain of human fears
For, even Death is not a dreadful thing
To one who writes his words with blood and tears.

Organize and Take the Big Bag!



Food Trust, Board of Health and the Undertaker

By PASQUALE RUSSO

JUST now the daily newspapers are making a great fuss about the reckless drivers of automobiles, claiming that hundreds of persons were killed during 1924, and predicting that the casualties for the coming year will be even greater. Every person of the least sensibilities, of course, deplores such indiscriminate slaughter as the newspapers complain of, but in their anger they seem to overlook the many thousands of persons who are slowly poisoned to death each year by the food trust.

In fact, the undertakers are befriended best by the meat packers. The selling of rotted meat increases the business of the undertaker to an extent little realized. The Board of Health, upon which Chicago people annually spend thousands of dollars, has been designed to prevent the death and consequent profits to the meat packers and undertakers. In short, the Board of Health, is generally regarded as the sentinel that guards the health of the citizens.

But the Board of Health, like all other similar institutions is maintained to further the interests of a profit-taking class and in place of guarding the health, really functions in the interest of the food barons. Many workers, owing to their meagre information, assume that the Board of Health safeguards the welfare of the public. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Board of Health is the servant of the hotel and restaurant owners, and if one examines their publications closely it will be found to be sophistry which efficiently misleads the masses.

Health Commissioner Herman N. Bundesen, frequently issues warnings and advice. Sometimes he warns against the eating of oysters, explaining that they contain disease germs; other times he warns about colds or mosquitoes. Such statements are of little value and are similar in character to emanations of politicians. The only purpose they serve is to maintain the particular writer or speaker in office.

It is quite well understood, in and about the City Hall, that to be successful one must stand well among the politicians, and it is very evident that Dr. Bundesen finds it more advantageous to be a good politician than a good doctor.

In Chicago there is much work that could be done by a real genuine Health Commissioner. In fact, his entire time could be employed in looking into the filthy conditions now existing in the kitchens of the hotels, restaurants and cafeterias. Right at this very moment, patrons of the various eating houses in Chicago are being fed such food as to cause serious stomach ailments, ptomaine poisoning and premature death. How many persons annually, even daily, are killed in this manner it is impossible to estimate. Perhaps we will never know unless the workers, en masse, decide to abolish this diabolical system of capitalism.

A High Class Hostelry

One of the leading hotels in Chicago, the LaSalle, makes a daily practice to serve food, disregarding all sanitary regulations. In its kitchen are to be found soups, cream sauces, gravies and parts of meats standing in open vessels standing on the floor from morning to night. During the day sawdust, flies, pieces of soap and dirt fall into the vessels. There, also, they have a large vessel into which bones covered with sawdust are thrown. Insects, mice, cockroaches and other species of vermin fall into the pot and contribute their share to the food that comes forth. Seldom, indeed, is the stock pot cleaned.

The cooks at the hotel find it difficult to procure clean towels. As a rule they receive a piece of a shirt or some other rag. Even such rags are few and hard to obtain and soon from much use become filthy, and hands wiped with them shape the omelettes which patrons eat. The management is not uninformed regarding such conditions but their motto is, "Business is business".

Another revolting practice at the Hotel LaSalle is that of gathering up the discarded remnants of food left from parties and banquets and reserving them until entirely disposed of. In this way everything is saved, celery, cheese, lettuce, olives, radishes, meats, cream and bread.

Broiled Spring Chicken Au Cresson

If chicken is decaying it is handed over to the night-chef who is an expert at removing the bad odor. He seasons it well with salt, pepper and dry mustard after which it is served without a blush of shame. In this way are the patrons of the hotel misled.

Bread Dressing is scraps of bread saved from the tables. This bread is not clean. It frequently contains ashes, butts of cigars, cigarettes and the sputum of angry employees. This bread is dumped into a greasy sink often used for washing pots and pans, and left to soak. After a given time the cooks add onions, sage, thyme and a few chestnuts. The following Saturday in the Chicago Tribune one will read an advertisement of a \$2 dinner thus: "Roast Vermont Turkey, Chestnut Dressing."

It appears very tempting, but this item in and by itself leads to many cases of sickness.

Owing to lack of space we cannot give further instance, although they are numerous. However, the conditions in the Hotel LaSalle are sufficient, especially when it is realized that Ernest J. Stevens, its president is thoroughly acquainted with what is done each day. This applies also to Ferdinand Karcher, the famous strike breaker and expert in the serving of rotten food.

Stevens is but little concerned about the poor quality of the food. The main issue with him is profit, and as long as the patronage of the hotel remains other matters are of no consequence.

But these are matters that vitally concern the working class. They can expect little else so long as they permit the capitalists to rule them. They

cannot consistently expect nor demand of Dr. Bundersen that he rigidly enforce the law respecting the Hotel LaSalle, since indirectly he holds his job at the behest of the food barons. Our purpose in this article is to banish one more illusion, one more item of faith. The Boards of Health of the various cities are only adjuncts to the functioning of capitalism and are maintained for the benefit of the ruling class.

This adds another reason to convince us that the only avenue open is organization of the workers so that may be able to take possession of the food industry and abolish the evils now existing in the hotels and restaurants throughout the land.



On Sincerity

By ELLA LUTTERMAN

IN the average person, I believe, sincerity is a relative property. That is, sincerity is there in a primitive form, so long as it is not eclipsed by some stronger impulse. Human traits are born of instinct, first, and only become refined through visualization by the intellect.

But there must be a happy balance. Some propensities are far too gross and primitive, in certain cases of individuals, to come under their mental jurisdiction; while, on the other hand, an aesthetic, creative mind may take the other extreme and evolve concepts of which its own moral nature falls hopelessly short.

Hence the normal being is the one who learns to think and feel in unison. The essential factors indicated to accomplish this are, primarily: an inherent love of truth, and the corresponding **courage** to live it. These two forces must be joint products both of the physical and intellectual, for concerted action. At this juncture, insincerity may often become apparent. Moral conviction may be not quite equal to animate a mental concept, which means courage—where a great many people slump;

inertia has the right of way! Hence, the effect of insincerity.

While, on the other hand, where sentiment is unbridled by reason the feelings sway to impulses here and there, inconstancy results, actions conflict, the victim succumbs! And the sensitive critic cries, "Insincere!"

Living means thought and practice in proper proportions. What per cent of the race, we wonder, is very vitally concerned about the proportions should this interfere ever so lightly with its primitive desires?

Man has not risen very far above the scale where the things that dominate his carnal wants, first, are what control human actions, largely. Until he can summon his resources for a more complete self-mastery, where he shall be willing to subordinate his primal wants, in part, to greater ends—so long shall man ever be the victim of his own slavishness.

There is nothing low or useless in the human realm, it remains but the part of the race to learn a proper correlation of the whole, and this spells **EMANCIPATION**.



Industrial Research

(Continued from page Eleven)

the general trend of industry to enable the Bureau to give forecasts of the general industrial situation to the organization.

Besides that special investigations would be needed in any industry, where the organization was operating or contemplated operating on a greater scale. Such questions would have to be investigated as: "How much stock is on hand in an industry where strike is contemplated?" "How long will it last according to the demand of the market? Can foreign products be imported to such an extent as to influence the success of the strike? To what extent will the industry be crippled by a strike under I. W. W. auspices according to the best estimates?" etc., etc.

The Question of Ownership and Competition

During a strike the question often comes up whether to settle with the employers separately. The union—in some cases—settles with one more of them only to find out that those regarded as individual employers were only strawmen for the big corporations that held out, and in that manner defeated them.

On the other hand, there are cases where corporations and other employers are fighting each other for control of the market, and where the union can take advantage of these conditions. A refusal to deal with the less hostile employers in that case would tend to create solidarity where there before was strife among the employers.

A good example of how to utilize conditions of that kind was shown in Philadelphia where the Jarka Stevedoring Company was fighting the rest of the stevedoring companies and the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. used the situation to their own advantage.

One of the classical examples, of a somewhat different kind, happened when the United States Steel Corporation was formed in the beginning of this century. The promoters did not want any disadvantageous publicity, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers for that reason thought it the best time to start an organization drive and secure recognition. On account of unskillful handling of the situation not much was accomplished, though.

Conclusion

The employers ascertain facts of that kind. Their Babsons, Moodys, Bradstreets and others compile and classify these facts and they are in that manner able to construct policies based on facts. The I. W. W. must do the same thing. Instead of basing our actions on guesswork, we must know the facts, and then base our policies on them.

For that reason industrial research is so important a factor in our educational propaganda. We are thereby teaching ourselves not how to work better for the boss, but how to work better for ourselves by increasing the strength of our organization.

The Denver Post

(Continued from page Twenty-Two)

streets via the horde of school boys (and girls) with whom the regular sellers are forced to compete. Unable to leave their corners the latter must perforce await the supply truck for the later edition. This gives them an unwilling choice of cheating their patrons, many of whom are hard won, steady customers; or should they be conscientious, they may, in circulation parlance, eat their stock.

Even the supply truck does not solve their dilemma for unless the original quota is sold out (usually a hard matter under the circumstances), taking more papers even of the later edition would be worse than useless nor are they permitted to trade in the old.

Thus competing with dozens of wild catting boys, all of them crying the latest sensation, the regulars usually find themselves stuck with unsalable sheets and scarce daring to call them. In this manner they not only lose the commission on unsold copies, but must pay the cost of them out of their earnings pitifully gathered on earlier editions; for the Denver Post loudly boasting its paid circulation fails for all sufficient reasons to inform its readers that part of it is squeezed from paupers, cripples and children whose helplessness is such a happy circumstance for the stockholders of this bulwark of American democracy.

In conclusion: although habitually a betrayer of truth and justice, like all capitalist phrase mongers and self-glorifiers, the Denver Post correctly states that it is a privilege to live in Denver. We say correctly, because it is a privilege, when starving would be so much easier in this city of 300,000; which likely counts such numbers because many among them cannot raise funds to get out of town, while others no doubt have become so stupefied from reading the smooth propaganda of which the Post is such an able expounder that they are no longer to be considered more than victims of a deplorable habit.

The Harvest Drive

HUMAN life depends first of all upon food, and the most inspiring spectacle in the American labor movement is the annual harvest drive of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, of the I. W. W.

Never in its history has this industrial union planned more carefully and with greater determination for a successful organization drive than this year, which must be a record-breaker.

When the July Industrial Pioneer reaches you the drive will be in full swing. Get this issue and read the great articles that are to be sent in from the field by competent revolutionary writers.

Strikes

By JAMES LYNCH

IN ONE of his Hearst editorials Dr. Frank Crane wrote on the subject of strikes with all the unfairness and lack of intelligence that is characteristic of apologists for things as they are. "Strikes are pure barbarism." "They are an application of force." "Not force on the guilty party, but force applied to a third party who has nothing to do with the case." "But when labor and capital fall out they each begin to abuse the public and hope by this means to secure their rights."

Such contentions are not new, and reveal a total lack of knowledge of the present organization of society. They lead to no true understanding of the nature and causes of industrial struggles.

Strikes are modern. They are the outcome of the Industrial Revolution—of the capitalist system, and the concentration of industry. The number of men and women forced to sell their labor power is continually becoming larger and larger. The use of expensive machinery and steam and electric power make it impossible for the workers to carry on production in their own establishments with their own tools. The tool has been displaced by the machine, and man-power by natural power. Instead of working for themselves, the workers must now give their labor power to the owners of capital and get in return a small part of that which they produce. They owe their right to a living to the owners of the machinery of production. The great masses are wage slaves, and not one in a hundred has a chance to become an employer—a member of the capitalist class. A wage slave practically is a wage slave for life.

Thus we have society divided into two classes with a great gulf between them, and with nothing in common. Millions of workers living in poverty and want, and a few capitalists enjoying all the good things in life. Many who toil and slave, and a rela-



The Thoughtful Phiz Of A Hearst Paper Prostitute—
Dr. Frank Crane.

tively small number who benefit by the products of labor without themselves engaging in production. Those who own and those who work face each other. The workers demand a return for their labor, and the owners demand a return for their ownership. The capitalists reduce wages to the bare animal existence and lower the standard of living wherever and whenever possible. Hours of labor are prolonged as far as the physical conditions of the workers will allow.

The result is that the workers are forced to fight not only in order to improve the unendurable working conditions, but also to get back more of the products of their labor. The inevitable struggle will continue, and there will be strikes and economic wars until the workers of the world become class conscious, organize into industrial unions, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the capitalist system.

Memoirs of a Modern Pirate

(Continued from page Four)

voyage the Panama Canal, Captain Dollar said that fifty cents a day was more than enough wages for a seafaring man.

As an example of how he regards organized labor and, incidently, bearing out the contention of the California Branch of the General Defense Committee that the Ship Owners' Association is behind the persecution of organized labor in California and is directly responsible for the imprisonment of seventy-eight men in her "Twin Hells," we will again quote Dollar's own words. During the dock workers' strike in San Francisco in 1919, it seems that the authorities were hesitant about arresting strikers when asked to do so by the ship owners. They hesitated because the strikers were doing nothing in violation of the law. But orders from the ship owners were eventually obeyed, as you will note from the following quotation from none other than Captain Robert Dollar:

"Our merchants jammed one of the police courts where several of the strikers were to be tried. The Judge of the court had right along been dismissing the charges against every striker brought before him . . . With such a body of prominent men in court, the Judge was forced to sentence the strikers brought before him. They were the first, I am sorry to say, but anyway we had gotten something started. The newspapers praised us too, and that was good... Three of us who were the leaders in the citizens' fight went before the official and laid our cards on the table. We told him that because of his reluctance to prosecute we had found it necessary to form a vigilance committee and if the serious conditions along the waterfront did not stop at once, our first official act would be to take him and string him up to a telephone pole. I can see that official yet. He could not believe we really meant it, so he said to me, "Mr. Dollar, do you mean that?" I answered, "I was never more in earnest in my life." My reply brought him to time and he promised to cooperate with us, and he did."

This quotation needs no comment; it is self-explanatory. It also explains why Deputy District Attorney McCarthy of Los Angeles County said, "We don't want to put these men in jail; but they must leave the shipping in this port alone." He was speaking of eleven members of the I. W. W. who were then in jail in Los Angeles charged with the strange new crime of Criminal Syndicalism. Perhaps Justice Hintz of the Supreme Court also heard that he "would be taken out and strung up to a telephone pole," causing him to discuss the injunction and

let the five ships go to the Dollar interests.

What else is necessary to prove that capital owns and controls every public official from the lowest to the highest? If the officials do not willingly obey, then threats of force are used. Just imagine what would have happened if a member of organized labor had told the district attorney that, unless he prosecuted "capital," he would be taken out and hung. Needless to say, there would immediately have been wholesale raids on all labor congregating places and all active unionists would have been thrown in prison for long periods of time.

Dollar's Patriotism and Brotherly Love

At the time that Dollar was fighting to obtain control of the aforementioned five U. S. Shipping Board vessels, the San Francisco *Examiner* carried an editorial stating that the Dollar Line was American first, last and always. This was written to create sentiment in Dollar's favor. The facts show that this is not true, but that money comes before patriotism with Robert Dollar.

As previously stated, practically all the Dollar ships, with the exception of those running coastwise and round the world, are under British registry. Why? For the reason that under the British flag they can ship coolie sailors and Filipino quartermasters and watertenders. Their maximum wage is not over five dollars a month. Under the American flag they must ship a white crew whose wages will at least be fifty dollars per month. Cargo rates on the ships under the British flag and those under American registry are the same. Hence, Dollar's profit is much greater when shipping coolies than when shipping a white crew.

Another point: during the late war it was to Britain that Dollar hastened to offer aid and not to the United States, and it was under the British flag that the bulk of his ships sailed. The fact that he is a naturalized American seems to trouble him



One of Robert Dollar's Steamers In China

not in the least when he has to choose between the United States and the country under whose rule he was born.

We will now go back to the Russian-Japanese war and ferret out an item dealing with the hypocrisy of this man. During this war Dollar leased a ship as a cargo runner to the Russians. This ship was taken as a prize of war by the Japs. Not long after that a delegation of American business men, headed by the Captain, went to Japan in the interest of American business. They were greeted on every hand with tremendous ovations. Dollar always responded by telling the Jap people of the great love and respect he had for them; how he was working for the mutual interest of the Japs and the Americans; and they, the Japs, would do well to place their trust in him and his associates. On one hand we see him aiding the Russians in the war against the Japanese and, after the war, we see him going to the Japs to bid for business. The Russians offered gold for the use of his ship; he let them have it. After the war, the Japs offered a vast commercial field, and he started business relations with them. Was not that hypocrisy, which Dollar has many times preached against?

Comes now the question of brotherly love. As already started, Dollar is a "Christian," to such an extent that he retains Y. M. C. A. secretaries and ministers on the payroll of his company. He causes religious edifices to be built and named after himself, all for the glory of God—so he says—but it is the god from which he takes his name, DOLLAR. He preaches the gospel of brotherly love between the white and Oriental races. There is a reason, an economic reason, at the bottom of this philosophy which we will here endeavor to show.

"Missionaries pave the way; business follows. Americans must remain in China and hold their own." With this statement, Dollar has explained the real reason as to why he preaches this brotherly love. In Wuchang, as also in many other towns in China, he has built Y. M. C. A. buildings and placed the secretaries of these associations on his payroll. They are Y. M. C. A.'s owned and controlled by Dollar. The Chinese children are there educated as he wishes them to be. In this regard he says, "I hold that it is far better for the average Chinaman to possess a good public school education than a college education. I have often observed that young Chinamen who receive higher education become dissatisfied with their lot and lose all sense of proportion regarding work." Thus we learn just to what extent these Chinese are educated by Dollar's tutors. They are only educated to the point where Dollar can take them and use them to his own advantage by exploiting their labor power. For instance, we find that he pays thirty-five cents a day for the services of these Chinese on his ships.

Times have occurred when the Chinese resented the activities of the Dollar Company on the Yangtze River, where this company had stolen so much of their trade. Formerly the Chinese plied as rivermen there, rafting all the trade in their crude

boats up and down the river. Dollar changed this; he stole the trade and drove the Chinese from the river with his big liners. The very livelihood of the Chinese became endangered, so they retaliated by attempting with armed force to stop Dollar's ships from entering their field. U. S. Marines with machine guns were brought in and promptly subdued any and all Chinese who had nerve enough to fight for what was rightly their own. Had a war been the result of this conflict, the newspapers of this country would have lauded Dollar, prating about the wonderful work he was doing in "civilizing" the Chinese and that the ungrateful Chinese had chosen war as a means of thanking him. The government would have, of course, backed Dollar and thousands of young Americans would have been butchered, all for the personal glory of one man and advancement of his fortune.

We have shown you where he said that "Americans must hold their own in China," but he did not stop there. He also said, "It is of the utmost importance that Singapore stay in the control of the English for all time". He is a man who supports two flags, British first, then American, and he advocates that the two nations take China. He is one of the strongest white competitors in the race for that country and he means to get it all, even though he has to use the U. S. Marines and possibly a British gunboat or two and take it by force.

What attitude will the Chinese take if he continues in his efforts to enslave and rob that nation? Surely the ideas and sentiments of Confucius are too strongly embedded in their minds to allow them to go on without making greater efforts to rid themselves of this robber. He has used every known means to blind them and instill fear in their hearts so that he might take what he desired for little or nothing. The question remains, will they allow him to continue in his self-seeking ravages.

We will mention one more of the Captain's remarks: "I have something to say of the men who stir up class hatred at home, and especially those who do their best to stir up animosity between our nation and the Orientals. They are vipers and, like rattlesnakes, should be exterminated." We agree with the Captain in that statement and recommend that he apply it to himself, for there are few individuals who are a greater menace to the welfare of the classes than he. He has done more to bring about race hatred between the Chinese and the Americans than any other man alive today, and yet he has the audacity to make the above assertion.

Today we find Dollar at the age of eighty-eight describing himself as a "hard working ship owner." He is one of the world's greatest capitalists and might properly be called the dean of Pacific Coast shipping, as well as being the owner of vast timber reserves in this country and Canada. He is a man who has stolen millions from the workers and has taken their lives and snuffed them out as one would a candle; a man who contemplates taking over all shipping, even as Bonaparte thought of taking the world; who will first use the vampire ways of Cleo-

patra and if they fail will use the ruthless violent methods of Tsar Nicholas. All this he dreams simply because he is demented with lust for power and gold.

He is now living a life of ease and affluence in San Rafael, California, surrounded by every convenience and luxury. Three miles from his home lies San Quentin prison where sixty-five members of the I. W. W. are confined, forced to waste long years of their lives under unmentionable conditions. They were sentenced under California's infamous Criminal Syndicalism law, a statute which

was passed at the behest of the Ship Owners' Association, of which Dollar is ex-president. They have committed no crime but have merely protested at such conditions as Dollar and others of his type would impose upon them.

Our story is told. Think it over and decide whether you are willing to seek blindly for the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow, or whether you prefer to work for your own interests by joining the Industrial Workers of the World, with the ultimate goal in view of receiving the full social value of the product of your toil.

Plute Conscience Stricken?

By COVINGTON AMI

JUDGING from the flood of anti-Russian, anti-Communist, pro-capitalist propaganda that has been pouring through the news columns of the kept press the past month or so, our dear old friend Plute is not only resting uneasy on his laurels, but is conscience stricken, to boot.

It may sound queer to those who have not watched closely the recent trend of events to speak of Plute being "conscience stricken," but what save a guilty conscience can account for his present feverish international effort to prove that there is really nothing at all wrong with capitalism, internally or externally; that it is still, as of old, "the best system possible," and that all attempts at common ownership of industry, whether it be the State Capitalism of Russia and Queensland, or the Co-operative Movement of Britain, Denmark and other countries, all, all are "total failures".

Something surely is troubling Plute these days and nights, so what is it if not a guilty conscience?

Yet it seems strange that with **ALL POWER**, industrial, political and financial, to say nothing of religion to fall back on, in his hands that Plute should today be so badly worried over the future of the world, and worried he is.

What hurts the Fat Boys so? Haven't they just swept the elections everywhere, especially in the United States and the British Empire? And don't these two empires today absolutely rule the world, morally, financially and everywise, especially financially? And can't "Money do anything?" Sure it can! Then with all the money and all other power in their hands, why don't they get busy and prove so conclusively to mankind that they have made no idle boast when they declared to the hellbound, har-

ried nations that in them alone was incarnated the "brains" and "ability" to "efficiently manage the world" for the general welfare, that the "damned radicals" would never again have a look in at power of any kind?

But may be it is just this beast coming home to roost, and not a stricken conscience, that is now worrying them so much; for I observe that though they loudly proclaim that the "radicals" are in any part of the world, right in the next column, and sometimes in the next sentence, they rage out that all would soon be well with "this best of all worlds" if only these "damned radicals" would quit "stirring up the people" against their "masters, gods and governments."

Just think of a "ruling class" with omnipotent power in its hands; with the two richest and mightiest empires earth ever knew their loyal and obedient servants, laying its failure to make good on a handful of busted and hunted "rebels"! Never in all the range of history has a cheaper bunch of pikers ruled the world than the bunch that now lords it over mankind, nor a more cowardly. Just look at them! Look at the millions of men, women and children they have slain, and the billions of treasure they have looted, and then listen to them whimpering and complaining that "the workers are not producing enough" and demanding under threats of further slaughter and starvation "lower wages, longer hours and less liberty" for the toilers of the world! Just look at them!

And, God help us, just look at the working class! Slaying, starving and slaving itself for a gang beside which the dog in the manger was an archangel of generosity!

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST NOT AN I. W. W. PAPER

A paper known as the "Industrial Unionist" is now being sold. Although this sheet usually carries the I. W. W. preamble, and the three stars and the letters "I. W. W." on its front page, it is not an I. W. W. publication, and poses as such without any authority from the Industrial Workers of the World.—ARTHUR COLEMAN, General Sec'y-Treas.

Constitution which forbids any state making a law to abridge free speech.

But as no one except radicals will pay any attention to this part of the nation's organic law, a little thing like that doesn't heckle Tennessee. Whatever the trial's outcome, those standing for fundamentalism and all that rot shall be aligned against those who concede, believe or know that there is nothing immutable, that all things are forever changing. What the jackass community where Scopes is held need to convince them is for an amoeba to develop into a whale during the forty or fifty years their bosses let them live in semi-starvation.

Those who accept the theory of evolution in astronomical, geological and biological matters are very likely to behold sociological changes which are more apparent, and which are demonstrable even in our brief span of life. Capitalists can not afford to let the idea of machine evolution get a footing among the masses. Capitalism is to last forever, and the profits are to be good throughout. At this time wages are deplorably low in Tennessee industries, and most of the farmers are renting their land or have it mortgaged. They must be given some solace, something to balance their spirits and keep them from too deep immersion in the sink of wretchedness. So they are given "pie in the sky" and they cling to this. It is an escape. It is a dream. It is the opium that robs them of the sharpest pangs of misery and of the power to act against their oppressors. This trial, like wearing nightshirts in K. K. K. parades and outragings, fills them with power.

Meanwhile not only wages are bad, but commission men and stock exchange gamblers are reaping a wonderful harvest from the toil of Tennessee's lanky sons of soil. The prosecution may mark the beginning of a vigorous campaign against evolutionary truth, or it may be an act of desperation. Years ago Bishop McFall, Catholic,

of Trenton diocese, said that to send our young men to college (meaning non-sectarian and Protestant institutions) was comparable to consigning their souls to perdition. And when I heard him say it he said **hell**. However, certain colleges require that those going up for examinations swear that what they have been taught has in no way undermined their belief in orthodox Christianity. But Tennessee has a superior method: it nips heresy in the bud. There is no use letting in light and then forcing students to say they have been blind for four years.

At any rate—"My Country, 'Tis of Thee"! Cotton Mather, Shay's Rebellion, Alien and Sedition Laws, conscription, penitentiaries, tar and feathers, espionage, lynchings, and now this noisome and noisy inquisitor in a territory that is just as virginally ignorant, superstitious and blood-lusting as any part of the Holy Roman Empire or the rat-eyed areas of Cromwellian Puritanism.

VON HINDENBURG—The election of this arch butcher, a monarchist by birth, family tradition and choice, proves that the political allegiance of any man aspiring to lead has but minor importance. The question that capitalists in Germany and any other state ask is: "How well will this person perform for US?" Tsars, emperors, kings and presidents must pledge service to the ruling bosses, and swear to support every effort in the interests of the bourgeoisie against the workers' welfare.

Hindenburg is peculiarly fitted to meet these requirements. He is seventy-eight years old, has spent his life in rigid disciplining, and he is not likely to develop any ideas not already known to those who engineered his election. If he has a middle name it is Slaughter, and his favorite food is blood pudding. His father was a lieutenant, and his mother was the child of Surgeon-General Schwicart of the Prussian troops. Hindenburg speaks fondly of his

parents, saying, among other extolling remarks, that:

"They also endeavored, by suggestion and the development of the tenderer sides of human feeling to give the best thing that parents can ever give—a confident belief in our Lord God and a boundless love for our Fatherland and—what they regarded as the prop and pillar of that Fatherland—our Prussian Royal House."

Other reminiscences about schooling at home are presented in the autobiography:

"To this epoch I trace my passion for geography, which my father knew how to arouse by his very intuitive and suggestive methods of teaching. My mother gave me my first religious instruction in a way that spoke straight to the heart."

How well the joint efforts of these devoted parents bore fruit is a matter of bloodiest history. The tenderer sides of human feeling and the passion for geography combined most efficiently under the patronage—so the field marshal declares—of the Lord God. In the Mazurian Lakes country he managed to annihilate regiment after regiment of good, Christian, Russian moujiks, and he won a place in the pantheon of killers by his previous victory at Tannenburg, to say nothing of other brilliant achievements in the western theater of war. Look to another part of this magazine for photographs from Germany showing how war acts on these gentler parts of humanity that, under parental tutelage, welled up and overflowed from the Hindenburg fraternal soul.

The general is now Big Business' cringing lackey just as he was Wilhelm's fawning flunkey a few years ago. His election speaks volumes for the level of German intelligence among the masses. These masses were taught for a half-century by the social democrats, and they cannot yet think for themselves. "Vote for me and I will set you free." That was the campaign stunt all these years, and still is. When the German workers, and the slaves everywhere, learn to rely on themselves through their economic solidarity they'll vote for no one, and they'll take the industries they have created.

In the world today there is the force for industrial freedom that attacks the poisonous philosophy of messianic redemption through political saviors, and there is also a desire among many others to pass the power of dictation to "strong men." Germany now boasts one of these alleged prodigies. His record for wading knee deep in blood is very good and romantic and it got him a lot of female votes. His sympathies for despotism also give him high rank for the office of further enslaving German wage slaves. But he is seventy-eight years old, the Dawes plan stares him in the face, and the workers are slowly learning the way to emancipation. After fifty years of voting it's about time.

OUR WRITERS AND ARTISTS—Since assuming editorial duties on this magazine it has been my good fortune to have enlisted the enthusiastic and talented support of a host of writers and artists, and to have held the fine assistance of those who contributed previously. These men and women—Labor's best—have devoted their intelligent and inspiring energies to advance The Industrial Pioneer to the position claimed for it—first place in the field of labor monthlies in the English language. The contributors have given their work willingly and with no other compensation than that of experiencing the joys that belong to those who strive to wipe this rotten bourgeois derangement of human relations out of existence. We owe these writers and artists much gratitude and freely acknowledge the great debt. May they persevere with us until this journal of revolutionary industrial unionism leads in circulation as it now leads in excellence.

PIONEER COVER DESIGN—Humanity over the great earth is shown mightily striving to break the chains that bind its flesh and hold in subjection its spirit. We regard the drawing a symbol of that struggle in which we are ceaselessly engaged and which animates our whole activity. This work was submitted by Fellow Worker Sarah Egherman but received no mention by any of the Pioneer-Solidarity Artistic Contest judges who gave opinions.

A New Society in the Making

(Continued from Page Fourteen)

tated by the development of agriculture to the most important industry. To further develop nationalism and make it sufficient authority to insure its stay as society, art was invoked to glorify it. Hence hellenistic art is also the acme of nationalistic art. Its sculptures are modelled so as to impress the populace with the glory of Hellas, its literature one continuous tribute to the greatness and glory of the nation. Finally the nation fell, the ancient empires of Hellas and Rome were conquered by the barbarians, and upon their ruins was built the feudal society.

With feudalism follows a new code of ethics, a new intellectual era. We are told it was a reaction, or at least a stagnation in the general development of Europe's intellectual life. Probably it was nothing but a necessary absorption of cruder elements into a higher form of society in order that the progress could so much more safely continue on a much broader basis. Be that however it may, one thing is certain: Feudal art and literature is distinctly different from nationalistic-hellenistic art. Why? Our only logical explanation is that its creators developed in different environments, which changed environments were due solely to a new form of production—serfdom instead of chattel slavery; isolation instead of concentration in cities.

The Renaissance

With the revival of nationalism at the collapse of feudalism we find old hellenistic art also revived. We behold the Renaissance. The whole Christian religion had to be modified in order to meet the new material changes that had taken place. In Northern European countries we had the Reformation, which relegated the pope to second place in matters temporal or corporeal, while the king became the most important person in the new nation. Polytheism as represented in hellenism was untenable in a religion that was to apply to many nations and where the church had to be consigned to second place or made to serve the new industrial order which could only be governed by a monarchical form of government. It would not do to have a national saint, who expressed his will through the Pope in Rome, as the supreme power in the nation. Such a saint might ordain something contrary to the welfare of the ruling power in the nation. Hence the Reformation.

In the Latin-speaking countries of the South, Catholicism had to be modified in order to maintain itself. Jesuitism proved to be the remedy needed. A sufficient amount of aggressiveness was added to the original submissiveness of the teaching of Christ so as to get a blend that could be used in class society. Aggressiveness for the ruling class; submissiveness for the subject class. Thanks to this change, Christianity became adapt-

able to capitalism, yes, especially fit for that form of society, and could be applied under different names in all the European countries.

The cathedrals and the monasteries, as well as all the so-called religious art from the early days of capitalism, had as its impetus not so much a burning desire to glorify God or any of the saints. Granted that the artists themselves were inspired by such a desire, the result of their work became nothing but a means of impressing the masses with the omnipotent power of the church. Those enormous buildings, great architectural works as they are, or those splendid sculptures and paintings, never did convey, and do not convey, to the visitor any conception whatever of what God is or is supposed to be. But it does make an authority of the church, as it signifies its enormous economic power, instills fear in the hearts of those who might otherwise resist it and makes an impression of authority that must not either be doubted or resisted. As the church had already been made the subservient tool of the new capitalistic order of society, its authority was used exclusively for the benefit of the new rulers. Thus art, literature and science were recreated and again made the tools and means by which the new social order would be developed and maintained.

Monopoly Development of Industry

The new form of society, the completely industrial one, which is now rapidly making its appearance, must likewise create its own means of propaganda. It cannot be brought into being or continue its existence with the aid of capitalistic art, science, education, religion, ethics or any other capitalistic agencies. It must itself create all such agencies and social institutions or else fail in its mission. If the workers, through their new and modern organizations, such as the I. W. W., fail in this respect, those organizations will soon degenerate into nothing else but capitalistic institutions whose sole function will be to barter with the slaves' labor power on the public counter where this and other commodities are for sale.

We must cease to judge our literature from the viewpoint of capitalist standards. Our ethics must be judged the same as theirs, and previous societies, by its usefulness to the aim in view. Capitalist science, art and achievements in general are measured by their value to capitalist society; our work must be measured solely on its merit as a means by which we can usher in our form of society. The revolutionary value of our work must be the sole standard of value applied.

We must cease attempting to build up any literary monuments from the viewpoint of capitalistic literary tests. Our literature is valuable only in such a degree as it conveys to the reader the idea of our proposed form of society, and the

means and methods by which it can be realized. Our art, whether it be a painting, a cartoon, or a poem, is valuable only to the extent that it can impress the masses with an entirely new conception as to what is good, great or beautiful according to our ideal, and not according to the established code of ethics. The value of our work must be measured, not by comparison with capitalistic achievements but by the service it may render our revolutionary activities.

Productive Modes Shape All Else

But all art, education and social activities in general are secondary in their nature. They are all based upon, and take form and expression from the prevailing mode of production. Those who control the industrial forces in society will control society itself. To establish a free art, or free form of education, or of science that is absolutely free to search the field and bring forth to the whole world its results, it is necessary that we establish such a form of society that shall benefit by this intellectual freedom. Present-day society can maintain itself only through suppression of science and art, or through prostituting it so as to make it serve its purposes instead of serving mankind by demonstrating to all, in a popular form so as to be understood by all, its discoveries or achievements. When we have established such a form of society that it not only permits full freedom on the intellectual field, but is depending upon such freedom for its very existence, then mankind is free, mentally and economically.

No new society has been brought into being by any other means than action. No sculptor has ever modelled it into being, no painter produced it on the canvas, no philosopher speculated it into reality, and no scientist brought it forth as a result of his experiments. All that such persons of talent and genius have done was to glorify what already had been done—explained to us the complicated nature of their working processes or pointed out to the masses the possibilities of the future. And this they have been able to do only to such an extent as the oppressed forces in society have made it possible for them to do. It is the toiling masses themselves, through their activities directly, either on the industrial field or on the battlefield against their oppressors, who have brought about the changes in society by which our much praised civilization and culture has been able to spring forth and develop to its present stage. It will be the same in the future.

No reactionary elements can survive; no form of society that looks for its ideal in the past will ever succeed. Only those who look to the future will gain victory. Those who fail to adapt themselves to the changing mode of society, who insist on living a desert life even after the desert has been irrigated and made to produce an entirely new flora, are bound to become extinct. Hence the future belongs to the irrigators and not to the drones who even fail to note that the desert is gone.

Activity Is Needed

Only the really active revolutionist is the constructive builder of the new society. He is the only one who constantly adapts himself to the changes that take place in the industries. He does it because he must in order to live. Those who live the life of the parasite do not feel the need; those who devote themselves to speculations and dreams do not dare to face life as it is, as often-times it runs contrary to their dreams and their fancies. The only real revolutionist is the one who does the world's work and thereby also adapts himself to the new mode of living required. Out in actual life, facing the enemy in his own entrenchments in the everyday struggle for existence is where the revolutionist is developed, where the creator of the new society is to be found.

A new type of producer is in the making. It is not of the type that originated in the homes of isolation, on the farms or in the wilderness away from the great centers of our civilization. It is composed of the ones who are brought up in these capitalist establishments that have for their purpose the turning out of suitable subjects for the perpetuation of their own system of parasitism and of legalized and sanctified robbery. They themselves create that very type which eventually will establish a higher and a better form of society. For those who start life in the kindergartens or grow up in the slums, the public institutions of slave cultivation, the world will appear in a wider and broader aspect than it did to the farmer boy who found himself with ten miles distance to his playmate, no matter how great the efforts being made to mold them into fit subjects for our present-day order. They will find fewer strangers in this little world of ours and they will learn to understand each other with less effort than it took us whose world was limited to our father's backyard, and who were told that behind the hill lived strange people and that all strange people were more or less bad people that could not be trusted.

Job Action Must Bring Freedom

This new generation of men, who, from their cradle to their grave, from the kindergarten, through the factory onward to the human scrap-heap in the downtown sections of our cities, are forced to live together, work together and starve together, will eventually learn also how to **fight together and win together**. Among their fellow victims of this insane system those who have the vision of something new and something better must preach the gospel of Industrial Freedom, and preach it in a language that all of them understand, in fact, in the only language any of them know. And although that language is not accepted today as the proper one to use in good society, that language will tomorrow become the classic, because it brought about victory.

In this environment they will not only preach, but they will bring about action. There is the field

not only for the propaganda of the new, but for its realization as well. There is also the field where we can and must train ourselves for our task, our school of revolutionary tactics, our field where the new society shall be erected.

Throughout the whole world we find today that the message of industrial unionism as propagated by the I. W. W. is being accepted as the only solution for the liberation of the toiling masses, and thereby, mankind as a whole. It is advanced through various organizations operating under different names in different countries. All of them adhere to the main principle, **action on the job**,

which is the fundamental principle of the I. W. W., as contrary to delegated power exercised through some agency of the capitalist state. It is through the faithful acceptance and forwarding of that principle that we shall win. Perhaps victory will not be gained under either the name of Industrial Workers of the World or any of the names under which present-day industrial unionists operate, but that does not alter the fact. One thing is a certainty, namely: **The industrial workers of the world will never gain their emancipation except through their activity applied directly on the job.**

Upton Sinclair's *Mammonart*

REVIEWED By KRISTEN SVANUM

THE main thesis of Upton Sinclair's latest book is that art is propaganda. Propaganda is an expression of opinion for the purpose of converting others to it, and this is what the artist is doing, whether consciously or unconsciously.

The other thesis of the book and quite as important is that all propaganda is class propaganda, based on economic motives, and that all really great art is revolutionary propaganda.

This raises the question, if the main thesis is accepted, whether the skill of the propaganda will be a determining factor in appraising art, or whether it should be judged mainly on the purpose of direction of the propaganda.

Upton Sinclair decides that the last must be the case. He does not, in theory, deny the first factor equal importance. On p. 352 he states: "The relationship between the novelist's purpose and his story is very simple; the two things are one, and of equal importance. . . . I have failed to mention a goodly company of artists who fought valiantly for freedom and justice, but who do not belong among the greatest for precisely the reason that their impulse to teach and preach ran away with their inspiration. That is why you miss such names as Plato and Sir Thomas More and Ferdinand Lassalle and Bertha von Suttner and John Ruskin and Walter Besant and Charles Kingsley and Charles Reade and Robert Buchanan and John Davidson and Richard Whiteing and Francis Adams and Harriet Beecher Stowe and Edward Bellamy."

In practice Upton Sinclair is not adhering to these principles. Even in the quotation cited, it is hard to agree with him when he is claiming to apply it. Can Plato be considered a valiant fighter for freedom and justice? Or do we read him today on account of his dialectical skill?

Is Ferdinand Lassalle lacking in literary skill? Is Ruskin more of a preacher than Carlyle and Matthew Arnold? Isn't it a perversion of revolutionary and artistic ideals to place the reactionary Schiller over Goethe, the author of *Faust*, and one

of the first students of botany adhering to the evolutionary theory?

Are Beethoven, Wagner and Richard Strauss superior to Handel, Palestrina and Rossini, because they were revolutionists? Or is there some other reason?

Upton Sinclair's generalizations are not correct because they are too sweeping. While some traces of economic propaganda can be found in all art, they are not always important parts in it.

In purely presentative arts like music, architecture and the dance they play a less important part, with an increasing importance in the representative arts of sculpture, painting and literature.

We shall find great art with foolish economic propaganda in it, and we shall find bad art with excellent economic propaganda in it. The soundness of the propaganda will not determine the greatness of the art in either case.

Shakespeare and Goethe are not the best defenders of the capitalist system, and Karl Marx, I am afraid, would have cut a very sorry figure as a literary artist.

The sub-title of *MAMMONART*, "An Economic Interpretation of Art," suggested a problem that has not been taken up by the author: the problem of tracing the different trends in art; the evolution of the different art forms and art expressions and analyzing their connection with and dependence on the economic basis of society.

Upton Sinclair gives us a history of art from its first historical appearance up to modern days, but it is a rather un-historical history. The class struggles of old Hebrew history are retold as identical with the populist movements today. Alcibia's biography is related under the name of William Randolph Alcibiades in a modern American setting, etc.

The idea of bringing the picture vividly to the attention of the reader is excellent, but historical perspective is lost by an overstressing of similarities.

The method of investigation and representation used by Sinclair is that of the impressionist and individualist. Actual and possible motives and influences working on the individual artist are taken up, analyzed, and presented to the reader, but these powerful forces, shaped by economic and industrial evolution, are neglected in favor of the more spectacular but less important events as the French revolution and the formation of the Holy Alliance.

Upton Sinclair is not absolutely neglecting them, but they are—to him—incidental. His history of art is a kaleidoscopic procession of individuals molded by their closest environment and the most spectacular events of their days.

The result is that we are not getting an economic, scientific interpretation of art, but an economic, impressionist interpretation of it. Instead of a history of art we have got a chronologically grouped set of essays on artists.

His sermons on Musset, Poe, les Goncourts, and others tempts one to call him a radical Dr. Frank Crane. His tendency to point a moral at any conceivable—and many other—occasions, defeats

itself. Moral advisers will do better just by showing the facts and leaving it to their readers to draw their own conclusions.

Upton Sinclair has not been successful in giving an economic interpretation of art; but he has done valuable pioneer work in that direction.

MAMMONART is an interesting book from cover to cover. The sophisticated reader will refresh his memory through it, and unless he has been reading very extensively he will find much new material therein.

Readers that do not usually care about histories of art and literature will find that MAMMONART is "different." There is nothing of the pedantic professor or the hysterical bluestocking in it. It is the book of a man that dares call a spade a spade, and, if need be, "a damned muckstick."

My only reason for not recommending MAMMONART to Pioneer readers is that I am afraid that the majority after having read it will accuse me of having done a shameful injustice to it in this review. The author publishes the book at Pasadena, and the price is \$2.00.



The I. W. W. and Why the Workers Should Join It

By VANCOUVER LOGGER

THE Industrial Workers of the World is a revolutionary labor organization, industrial in character, and international in scope. It was formed in 1905 as a result of the discontent with the inefficiency of the trade unions, which could no longer cope with the growing power of the employing classes, arising out of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. From its very beginning up to the present day it has successfully fought numerous battles for labor and, as a consequence, its members have paid for their activities with persecutions at the hand of hirelings of the master class. But nevertheless the I. W. W. stands foremost in the labor movement today, larger and stronger than ever. It is the only road to better conditions and the final emancipation for the workers.

The I. W. W. organizes the workers into industrial unions, instead of into trade unions. The advantage of this form of unionism over the older form of craft organization is obvious. Instead of being split up by trades, each trade with a separate time agreement, the workers in each industry are solidly welded together to show a solid front to the particular industrial trust they are fighting. The I. W. W., however, looks beyond an isolated form of industrial union. It realizes that, no matter how powerful the workers in one industry may be they may be compelled to fight a number of united bosses representing various industries. It also recognizes the fact that all industries are closely interlocked and that a victory of one set of workers is a victory to all and a defeat of one a setback to all. Therefore

the toilers are not only organized in industrial unions but all the industries are solidly united in One Big Organization of all wage earners, thereby achieving the solidarity of labor when fighting a united master class.

The I. W. W. admits to membership all wage earners regardless of race, color or creed and through education welds them into one solid, class conscious working class. Not only trades and industries must be united in one organization but also all nationalities. Capital is international, therefore it is necessary to organize internationally. We will suppose there is a strike in the lumber industry in the United States. The strike would lose its efficiency if the lumber workers in Canada and other countries supplied the United States with lumber. With the present means of transportation it is impossible to achieve absolute solidarity of labor unless the workers the world over are lined up in one organization. When the master class can no longer keep the workers divided by obsolete trade unions they arouse their race hatred through the press and divide them along racial lines instead of trade divisions. Consequently the I. W. W. breaks down this barrier and organizes the foreigner so as to have him fighting with us instead of against us.

The immediate aim of the One Big Union is to better the conditions of the workers by cutting down the working hours to relieve unemployment and by raising the wages. Its ultimate aim, however, is to overthrow capitalism and to establish a co-operative commonwealth where the machinery of production

and distribution will be socially owned and run for the use of humanity and not for the profit of the few. As a revolutionary organization the I. W. W. shows its superiority over such organizations, by organizing the workers on the industrial instead of on the political field, thereby fitting each worker to find his place in production and enabling him to carry on industry after the overthrow of capitalism. There is no other revolutionary organization that has a definite plan to carry on production after the present system has been overthrown. The industrial Workers of the World can truly say that "by organizing industrially" we have formed "the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

We have seen that the I. W. W. has immediate demands for the betterment of conditions. By joining the organization the workers will hasten the benefits of better conditions. They will also hasten the day when capitalism shall fail, and by being organized, will be able to save humanity from starvation and chaos. Therefore it is to the interest of all who are being exploited and robbed, who would benefit by living in freedom and health in a decent social system, to join the I. W. W. today and not tomorrow. Just as soon as they organize correctly and not before, will these changes be brought about.

Ship Owners Wine and Dine Seamen Starve and Beg

By SID TERRY

THE Great Lakes have been open for navigation for a month, but the number of unemployed seamen instead of decreasing, has been steadily increasing until there are armies of stranded seamen in every port. The halls are crowded to overflowing. The ill-ventilated Lake Carrier's halls afford "flops" for the less fortunate. Vile breaths of "dehorns" permeate the atmosphere. Men can be seen in a coma, supposedly sleeping, but in reality almost asphyxiated by the foul air. Many would welcome incarceration as a relief from their misery, and the jail discipline as a happy contrast to their present plight. These men offer all they have for a chance to work. Their bodies are tired, warped and broken by toil. Some of them, as individuals, have struck out in retaliation against powerful and unseen forces which sapped their

vigor and burned out their youth; they pitted their own puny efforts against the overwhelming strength of established society.

Individual effort has taught them a lesson and they are now turning towards the I. W. W. Coordination of their individual labor power with that of their class acting together is their only hope. Among these modern nomads a sense of industrial solidarity is fast taking root; the pulse of the pariah of the sea is quickening to the detriment of the present autocracy. The colorless traitor who runs the fink hall cannot meet the eyes of these men. Can it be there is danger of infection from the ideas these men nurse? Can it be that their talk, confided in low tones, will be the nucleus which will eventually develop into the force that will finally subdue capitalism?

In sordid contrast to the undernourished, sleepless seamen who hunt for work, are the well-fed, silken-clad shipowners. In expensive pews they kneel and pay tribute to the system which grinds the bones of the seamen into overstuffed lounges, expensive automobiles, and huge buildings, from which their henchmen direct the activities of the slave machines which plow the Great Lakes, giving no thought to the agonies endured by their "brother associates" of the "Welfare Plan." Is this Christianity? Are these the glories we sing of—the beauty and joy of the present social system?

Fellow workers, act! Let us join together into one big powerful union, the I. W. W. Let us unite and abolish forever the damnable exploitation of man by man. Let us do away with the system which produces paupers and makes millionaires. The I. W. W. welcomes you into its folds. The I. W. W. is an organization which recognizes the irrepressible and irresistible struggle which must go on between workers and employers. Education and organization are the weapons that will finally bring the workers to their own. Rise in your might, brothers—bear it no longer! Assemble in masses throughout the whole land—Show these incapables who are the stronger When workers and idlers confronted shall stand

Through castle, court and hall—

Over their acres all,

Onward we'll press—like the waves of the sea—

Claiming the wealth we've made,

Ending the spoilers' trade,

Labor shall triumph, Mankind be free.

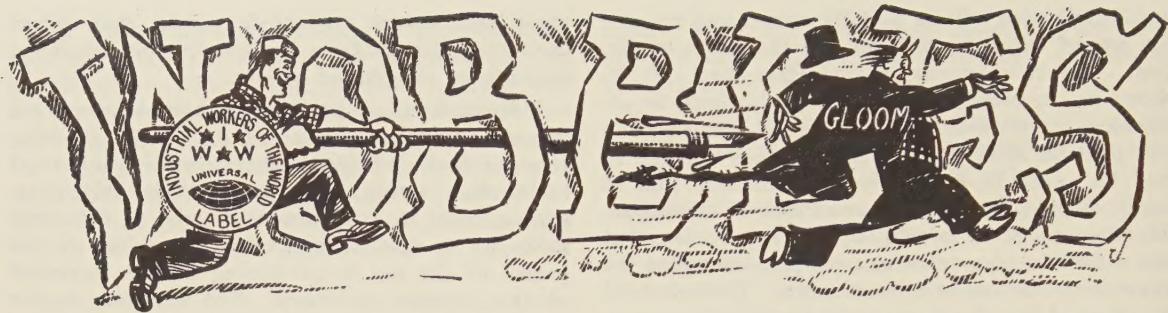
INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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GAINFUL OCCUPATION

A young man arrested on a vagrancy charge was standing before the bar of justice. Looking over his glasses the judge asked, "Young man, did you ever earn a dollar in your life?"

"Yes, your honor," came the quick reply; "I voted for you last election."

VACUUM

A delegate was trying for more than an hour to make an impression on Mr. Shears.

Suddenly Shears said, "Everything you tell me goes in one ear and out of the other."

"That's because there is nothing between your ears to stop it," concluded the delegate.

THE MODEL WORKER

Straw Boss: That fellow reminds me of a steam engine.

Foreman: Good worker, hey?

Straw Boss: No, good whistler.

RESOLUTION

"I'll never again work for that man Dolan," declared Casey.

"And why?" asked his friend.

"Shure, an' 'tis on account o' th' remark he made."

"An' what was that?"

"Casey," said he, "you're discharged."

WORKING FOR FORD

The following conversation was overheard on the local "skidroad":

"Did you ever work for Ford?"

"You bet I did."

"What you quit for?"

"Didn't quit. Got 'canned'."

"What you get 'canned' for?"

"Dropped my wrench on the floor, and before I could pick it up I was four cars behind."

THE AVERAGE "PROF," TOO

Student: How long do you suppose, Professor, that I could live without brains?

Prof: I don't know; we can only wait patiently and see.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE

The other day an Italian nobleman, visiting our fair shores for the first time, watched the skyline of New York approach from the boatrail. The Statue of Liberty caught his eye.

"An' what ees tha-at?" he inquired of an American he had become acquainted with during the voyage.

"That," replied the American reverently, "is a statue we have raised to the Goddess of Liberty."

The personage from Italy nodded brightly. "Oh yess," he said, "in Italee we too raise monuments to our ill-ustrious dead."

BREAKFASTLESS

The "hired man" went into the village store to cash his check.

"What's the matter? Quitting your job?" asked the storekeeper.

"Aw, the old woman there was too stingy," answered the man.

"Do you know, at breakfast this morning she said, 'Do you know how many hot cakes you have eaten?' 'No ma'am,' I answered, 'I had had no occasion to count them'. 'That's 26', she said, and I was so damn mad I just got up from the table and quit without eating hardly any breakfast."

Map of the World



When the Last Rebel is Hanged

By COVINGTON AMI

When Plute in his infinite wisdom the last of the Rebels has hanged,

And all of the Farmers are peons, and all of the Workers chainganged;

There in the Bankers' Elysium, where the truth it shall never be told,

Where Christ is a criminal syndicalist and justice is bartered and sold,

What a world this will be for the Bosses! how happy our Rulers will be,

With nothing to do but to feast on the fruit of the Usury tree!

But, oh for the Artists and Thinkers the mothers of Labor give birth!

And the mothers, the mothers!—what a hell of a heaven on earth!



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

The conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.